

Respondent is a short, normally built person with dark blond hair and clear big, blue eyes. His face is somewhat thin and his nose just a little bit longer than the average person's. His hair is long and is kept in a way that makes him look like a cheerful journeyman of yesteryear, who doesn't care much about his appearance, but is likeable.

As he speaks, he appears to be thoughtful, very independent minded, very unusually relaxed for a Hungarian and very typically straight forward for a Hungarian. He speaks willingly and has much to say. It is apparent that he is an intellectually very alert person. Suggestions in questions which appear contrary to his thinking, make him laugh rather than angry.

Unquestionably he is a great dreamer and idealist who thinks much more of the common good than of himself. It was very hard for him to leave the country behind for which he would have died if necessary.

He is disappointed to find so little sincere interest in and help for the Freedom Fighters in America; and, above all he is disillusioned because he sees that the free world is afraid of the Soviet Union.

This interviewer has known him since last September/December to be a completely honest person who doesn't mince words, and to be a dedicated person who believes in the brotherhood of all men. I have also known him well to be absolutely unselfish and unassuming and kind, and have observed him that he has a sense of humor. He has much respect for human values but not much for authorities. All in all he is just the kind of person that one likes to see building up a democracy with millions like him.

## MAJOR SALIENCK AND TAND WARM UP QUESTION.

He thinks that the most important things that the Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the revolution during the autumn of 1956, are:

From 1948, gradual military, intellectual, political and economical terror was developed by the Russians and their stooges in Hungary, and it affected everyone except the henchmen of the Communist regime. This is the reason why practically everyone turned against the regime during the Hungarian revolution - although Hungary was sealed off from the West, and the West was painted by the Communists with very dark colors and put in a bad light in every respect, Hungarians knew better. In fact their curiosity was awakened even more by the Communist attacks and they imagined America even better than it actually is. In America, people think mostly that the Russian troops were called in by Imre Nagy. This is a great error because the Russian troops crossed into Hungary from Zahony at 1:00 a.m., Oct. 24, 1956, and Imre Nagy was n't even Premier at that time.

From 1:00 a.m. Oct. 24th Central European Time, Russian troops were pouring in with practically no interruption until Nov. 22, at the very least. Nov. 22, was the last day when correspondent had a chance to receive firsthand information from the Nyiregyhaza amplifying station, which was reported to him on a direct line - at that very moment, Russian troops were still crossing into Hungary through Zahony. Consequently, he also thinks it is necessary to add that it was already on Oct. 21st, or 22nd when Russian troops built bridges over the Tisza at Zahony. "If those troops had not come into Hungary", respondent explains, "we would have licked them!". The majority of the troops stationed in Hungary were in favor of not fighting against the Hungarians, respondent explains, and when the Budapest Soviet troops were beaten by the Budapest people (although they had no good weapons; "when the Soviets saw that the population of Budapest could lick the Soviet forces stationed there, it recognized that it needed time to pour in more reinforcements than they had. This is why they agreed to withdraw its troops from Budapest and pretended that its troops which had been stationed for some time, cannot be counted on.

CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ACTIONS, ATTITUDES, AND EXPECTATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION

Respondent started telling his story from October 20th and 21st, because he thinks only the history of those days can explain what came later.

On October 20th, respondent was in Budapest to attend the College in which he was studying in the evening division. He went to Kiskunlachaza, about forty kilo from Budapest, where he had several friends in the military unit in which he had served before. He found that a state of emergency was declared. He learned from them that the South Army of the Hungarian Airforce and the Kecskemet division, were called upon by the Hungarian ministry to execute the necessary steps which characterized the state of emergency preparedness. He saw officers from the unit of Kiskunlachaza, those friends whom he visited in those days, carrying hand grenades, machine pistols and even machine guns to their own homes. His friends told him that the students of Szeged University held a rally on the 20th of October and that that rally was taken very seriously by communist headquarters. According to his secret order, which came out on the 20th and 21st, those demonstrations in Szeged amounted to riots.

"On the 21st, I went to Budapest and met there a friend who came from the technical university at \_\_\_\_\_ and he told me that they held a meeting and they issued an order to the government in which youth demanded that the points of its proclamation be fulfilled, or at least, answered by noon of the 23rd. If the demands of the youths would not be put on the agenda of the Central Party \_\_\_\_\_ THE STUDENTS WOULD GO OUT INTO THE STREETS TO DEMONSTRATE. My friend told me that they knew very well that people would follow them if they were on the streets demonstrating against the government. I also talked to another acquaintance who was a persuaded Communist. He was an Hungarian-Russian linguist of one of the publishing companies, and he happened to be an honest person who attended the meetings of the Petofi Circle. While we talked, I asked him "What next?" and he told me that the Petofi Circle was the right answer to these questions, and that I should also organize a Petofi Circle down near Nyiregyhaza. I told him that I had the feeling that intellectuals could not possibly rally, the peasants and the workers around their demands because, the intellectuals were too far



ahead in their thinking.- It was still on the 21st that I left for Nyiregyhaza. I arrived there on the 22nd and learned that the AVO distributed arms to the members of the ~~farix~~ County Party Committee, and to members of the County Council. By the way, all these people were scoundrels. I also learned that at strategically important points, like our amplifying stations, members of the AVO were stationed. They were then available at any time any emergency arises.

"On the 23rd of October, everyone, practically speaking, in Nyiregyhaza ~~xxxx~~ was listening to the radio and not only to the radio in Budapest (which was controlled by the AVO and continued even after the shooting around its building and after the actual capture of the building by the 'Freedom Fighters'), but listened also to the foreign news stations. AVO officer patrols were patrolling the streets of Nyiregyhaza, and people told each other that the demonstrations were held in Budapest and many telephoned their friends in Budapest to learn the truth. People learned that, strictly speaking, all people in Budapest were ought on the streets and demonstrating against the government. To understand the seriousness of the situation, may I mention, that the AVO patrols consisted of seven AVO officers and they carried not only pistols but also submachine guns.

"Issue of the Irodalmi Ujsag and of the Hetfoi Hirlap were sold at fantastic blackmarket prices, and 20, 30 and even 50 forints a piece.

"As the events fell in upon us, we listened more and more to telephone conversations. This is how I learned that the Hungarian border guard near Niskole held up the incoming Russian troops, until they were ordered from the Ministry of Defense that should let the Russian troops pass. The first Russian troops arrived around twelve o'clock in Nyiregyhaza. People in the streets watched them passing, and were gravely alarmed by what they saw. I learned from colleagues stationed elsewhere, at other amplifying stations, that the in-coming troops surrounded the huge weapons' depot at Kiralytelek and they detained the Hungarian guard of the depot at Kiralytelek. We also learned that the Russian troops surrounded the industrial plants at Teglas, which produced ammunition and arms. The Communist authorities ordered a curfew but people didn't heed the warnings and they went around in the streets talking over the events in great excitement.

"On the 25th, the picture on the streets was the same as the previous day. In the afternoon, a crowd of several hundred people began to gather on the city square as tanks crossed over the city square on their march to other cities. The crowd could stand it no longer and in desperation over the fact that Russian troops were menacing Hungarian freedom, and right, at the moment, when their country demands their withdrawal, they pour in new troops, well in such desperation they swarmed to the street in an attempt to make the Russian tanks halt. But the Russian tanks, apparently in a hurry, didn't care much and shot over the heads of the crowd and the crowd gave way to them and they continued their forward march.

"On the 22nd, the march of the Russian troops continued. Now, even larger crowds were in the streets watching the march, in desperation. It was that people demonstrated again and again against the Russian tanks and swarmed on the streets in an attempt to halt them. The AVO which was carefully watching everything, quarreled with the people and threatened them with consequences when they demonstrated against the tanks.

"I had been attending an English class with a number of people and many of us were all very anxious to learn English, yet on that day we all went home, after we talked with great excitement about the events and no English lecture was given at all. In the afternoon, the freedom of assembly was canceled. The AVO ran around with small trucks and made this order over the loud speakers. In the evening, I went to a large grocery store. It was about 7:30. The store was jammed with people. One worker heard a speech to the people in the grocery store, the essence was demands: "let's have arms, and we'll fight the incoming Russians!" And the crowd repeated his words: "Arms! Arms! Let's have arms!" We sang the national anthem and we also sang the Szekely National Anthem. When I went home at night after work at the amplifying station and arrived at home, the AVO waited for me: "Why did you yell against the Russian soldiers?" I repeated: "The radio and the papers all tell us about the government calling the troops stationed in Hungary to help, and these don't look to me like the troops stationed in Hungary. They are just now crossing the border from the Soviet Union." - I received, of course, no answer from the AVO but they gave me hell and said told me, step by step, where I had been that day and what I had done. It was apparent that they had been trailing me. After questioning, and threatening, they got me up in a room where I was allowed to sit on a chair, but spent the entire night by myself. In the morning I was released and told to go home, and not even to go to work anymore. At 8:00 PM crowds were dispersed by the AVO.

In spite of the canceled freedom of assembly, more than 8000 people got hurt on October 27, in the city square. Some people went to the hotel and took the busts of Krokosi, Lenin, and Stalin and threw them down in the square. Others climbed up the Korona hotel and they demolished the Russian star which was on top of it, and threw it down to the ground. The people cheered on both occasions, and they shouted: "Long live Hungarian freedom and out with the Russians!" "Down with the AVO". The crowd which went to the Bessenyey Square and demolished other Soviet stars from the buildings - from the high office building which was in Bessenyey Square - they challenged police to rip off their Soviet stars from their caps - and the police followed suit. The crowd grew and grew. It's behaviour was so threatening that all the AVO people disappeared. Many people appeared and sang the National Anthem and the flags were carried in front of the large crowds that went to the high school to persuade the principal to release the students. I ran over to the Vasvari High School and found the students and the faculty assembled out in the school yard, and a superintendent spoke to the students and told them that a large, drunk crowd was displaying an undignified and unruly behaviour and that they were wrecking things, etc. I talked with one of my former classmates who was a teacher, telling him it would be right to release the students. They were in favor of it, but the superintendent refused to permit it. After a long time, the will of the students and one man, they were released.

Over at the high school, however, the crowd had to open the door because the school refused even to talk to them. From here, the students went to the Malinovski Memorial (Malinovski was a Russian war hero) First of all, they demolished the Malinovski statue, and a worker from Niskule gave a fiery speech to the crowd. After him, a student leader Gymsium read the demands of the students. The keynote was the declaration of solidarity with the Budapest revolution. Speeches were given, the National Anthem sung and people destroyed even the pedestal of the Malinovski statue so as not to leave any vestige of Soviet domination. Now the crowd wanted the demands printed so they went to a printing shop in the city square. Trucks went in front of the crowd and they shouted slogans like: "Rokya go -GUE!" They rushed to the print shop and waited until the demands were printed. In the meantime, two trucks went to the cemetery to destroy the Russian war memorial in the cemetery. People were very anxious to get on the truck and take part in that action. I had to go to the amplifying



station to report for work. As I neared my home, I overheard my nine-year-old brother and his playmates talking over how they could throw stones between the wheels of a tank so as to incapacitate it. From the amplifying station, I went again to town. In front of the City Hall, I found the Russian war memorial destroyed and found huge signs, in Russian, hung over the street which read: "Workers are fighting for their freedom. Russians go HOME!" "Don't shout at the workers". They also put out leaflets explaining more elaborately all this, but they didn't manage to distribute them to the Russian soldiers, because they accepted nothing from the population.

It was in the afternoon that another Russian armored unit came to the town, following the same route as did the others, but the crowd could stand it no longer. A large mass of people demonstrated feverishly against them. They decided to halt them even if it caused fighting. So it happened. The crowd literally stormed the Russian tank column, and overturned two trucks. Other people took stones and stoned the Russian soldiers; others stamped on the turrets of the tanks, and some Russian soldiers had huge stones on their heads. Only one car managed to get through the crowd, and when one of the trucks was overturned a 13 year old boy took the submachine gun from the front seat of the truck and another youngster took it away and he shot at the crew of the armored car as it went through the crowd. One Russian major died, and others in the car were wounded. Now the Russian tanks fired back the crowd with machine guns. A 56 year old man standing next to me, who held a flag in his hands, died instantly. There were altogether four deaths and nine severely wounded. Part of the crowd shied away, but others stood up and shouted: "You dogs, we die for our freedom, but you ~~are~~ fight for enslaving the freedom loving people. It was then that I saw one of the Russian soldiers jumping off one of the tanks and I heard him yelling at the crowd; the crowd yelled back at him. Some of it was in Russian and told him in Russian to go ahead and shoot - "We die for a good cause!" Then I saw this Russian throw his submachine gun to the ground, and I saw him running back. I think I must say before I go on that many of the Russian tanks must have fired into the air because if they had not, with such a massive crowd, it would have been ~~absolutely~~ a hideous massacre.

Several of us took care of the dead and wounded. We covered the body of the man who was shot dead next to me with the flag he had carried so bravely. Others took the wounded to the ambulances. As we did this, four tanks ramed into the crowd and the crowd was thus pushed to the sidewalks and to the side streets. The Russian tanks now secured the way for the passing tank column by standing at the entrance of every side street.

" While all of this happened, the ~~Hungarian~~ Worker's Council was formed, and the Russian unit which was involved in the skirmish, left town. The crowd came back to the city square and they decided to go to the prison and free the political prisoners. They went there, demonstrating, but the warden of the prison didn't want to give into their demands and, had all entrances blocked. The crowd stormed the windows and pried open the main entrance. Inside the guards offered no resistance and we found that the prisoners were all women who were locked up for exercising free trade of one kind or another; or, of insufficient delivery of goods for the state, of one kind or another. It was a moving spectacle to see the women come out in prisoners' robes and then go to the storeroom and find their own clothes and come back again as free people. They all hurried home to their loved ones.

" The crowd wanted to go now to the police headquarters, and ask the police to join them in their demands for a free Hungary. Many in the crowd thought that this would be impossible and they shouted a slogan: "Disarm the police!" But as the crowd arrived in front of the police headquarters, an AVO Captain came from the building and a police major after him. These two people declared for the police and the AVO that they surrendered to the "people's will", and the crowd asked them to help form a ~~Hungarian~~ Civilian guard to safeguard order and property against looting and destruction. They talked over the major points of this arrangement. According to the agreement reached, the people who volunteered to be part of the civilian guard had to report next morning at the Police Headquarters.

" While this happened another part of the people, also in a huge crowd and demanded that the army ~~unit~~ unit stationed at Nyiregyhaza, come to halt the Russian invasion. The crowd was told by the officers who stood at the front of the barracks that this would be impossible. Upon this the crowd demanded arms, and wanted to fight to defend Hungary against the Russian invasion. As the officers at the gate were reluctant to heed even this demand, the crowd stormed the building. At that moment, the lieutenant in charge, ordered: "Fire!" There were several wounded in the crowd, but the lieutenant himself fell ~~back~~ (later; it was found that one of the soldiers shot the lieutenant dead from behind because he could not agree with the order to shoot). A curious condition developed now. Part of the immense crowd turned against a Soviet tank column which came on that same road, and the Russians started firing into the crowd. But the Hungarian soldiers who were not lined up in the barracks yard, noticed this and they started firing with mortars at the Russian tank column. The Russians turned back without firing or more resistance. I didn't see this happening but



some who saw this skirmish told me later. ~~that~~

" Now the Hungarian soldiers were ordered to take the crowd back to the other street and so it happened, but the crowd, actually, only went as far as the other side of the street, and from then on it kept arguing with the soldiers and explained to them the riotousness of their cause. Apparently, the ~~the~~ Commander of the Army barracks could stand it no longer, and he sent a delegation to the City Hall where the Worker's Council was in session. Then, the Commander agreed to form a Revolution Committee of his unit at the Army barracks. When the crowd learned about this from the delegates who returned from City Hall, they quieted down and went home. They were told that the Army was with them on the side of the Revolution and this satisfied the people.

" In the evening, nothing significant happened, but during the night the AVO which had virtually disappeared from our town, so e for that major who came negotiating with the crowd - which had been a symbol at the Police HQ - except for him, the AVO had left town, but now they had come back to Police HQs and they watched the streets around the building.

" When in the morning of October 28, the Volunteers who were to become the members of the Civilian Guard wanted to report to Police HQ they were not admitted by the AVO.

" Before I continue telling the events of the next day, that is, October 28, let me add to the events of the 27th. The AVO also came back to our amplifying station and that the Workers Council also declared a general strike until the Russians left Hungary.

" Meanwhile the Worker's Council worked out a complete agreement with the Commander of the Army Unit, and according to this a friend of mine was to become the Commander of the Civilian Guard, and one soldier - one civilian guard and one police were to be members of the patrols which could watch over the town. I also became a member of the civilian guard. The Civilian Guard showed an ~~an~~ ultimatum to the AVO that they surrender by noon, and in case of non-compliance he ordered the Police HQs destroyed by artillery pieces, so as to destroy the AVO without losing the valuable life of the citizens. It was only later that a civilian guard found that ammunition which was necessary had been transferred three or four days prior to the Revolution people located elsewhere. (Between 11 and 12:00 a.m. the AVO escaped, as we learned later to the Soviet Union. It was the AVO people who were watching over our amplifying station and let me remark that it was these AVO people had asked several times during the previous days that we request the AVO in Budapest to say what was happening to the AVO in Budapest. One

of my colleagues told them: "They are weeding out the AVO". It was quite amusing to see how their faces changed when they heard this.

After the AVO left, the Hungarian guard commander occupied the Police HQs building, and organized a disciplined and responsible civilian guard. They cooperated with Blue police and the military rules as had been outlined before.

While these things went ahead in town, I was busy at the amplifying station and listened to the lines of the Communists. I heard a major, who was a member of the Party County Committee, Major Hubicska. I heard Major Hubicska reporting to the Ministry of Defense that "an unruly mob - a raging mob, surrounded the HQs building of the Party County Committee and demanded them to accept the demands of the crowd. He bitterly complained that the crowd gave them a strongly worded ultimatum - of course nothing of this was true because the County Party Headquarters building was completely left alone. I heard the Minister of Defense reply to this major and tell him that no county yet in the country has gone over to the revolutionists. This was also a lie because most of the County Parties, by then, were in the hands of the Freedom fighters.

I listened to another conversation in which the AVO pressing orders that they help and direct every party functionary to penetrate the Worker's Councils and destroy them from within. After we heard such conversations, I ordered all telephone lines and connections, interrupted, except those of the hospitals, the doctors, ambulances and the food shops. Now we watched radio conversations. In fact, the County Party Committee resorted to using the radio. I wanted to paralyze them completely so, I issued orders that the electricity be disconnected, and so it happened. At the same time, I gave the Worker's Council a direct line to the Budapest government.

The Miskolc Worker's Council broadcast over the Miskolc' radio. The news of the revolution - the true news because the Communists radio broadcast also. By then, the Nyiregyhaza radio station had been silent for days, and I gave orders to the Nyiregyhaza radio station that they relay Miskolc news. The people at the radio station wanted me to take the responsibility and I gave them the green light. On the 29th, I went to the Party County Committee in an attempt to persuade them not to prevent the revolution. I found them armed, and how well armed! They were prepared to outlast the revolution which they hoped would be short lived, but apparently my attempts were successful because they promised to go along with the revolution. Although there was one person from the Budapest HQs who spoke in a very condescending way to me, and tried to talk the Party County Committee from severing. I explained to them that there was no sense in resisting, and at long last, they surrendered their votes.

In the evening, they sent a small committee to the Chairman of the Worker's Council offering their services. Of course, I informed the Worker's Council what kind of orders the Party County Committee had received the previous day from National HQS to go into the Worker's Council to destroy them from within. The Chairman of the Worker's Council put me in charge of the communications department of the entire county.

In the evening a County Worker's Council was formed from the delegates of a number of the towns in our county.

In the evening Marshall Zhukov's orders came over the radio that Russia's troops would be withdrawn from Hungary. There were troops stationed at Zahony and they withdrew to the other side of the border. In Beregsurany and Nyirbator. In other border towns nothing happened. It was completely quiet. I reported to the Miskulc radio and the Miskulc radio and the Nyiregyhaza together announced the great news. Huge crowds in Nyiregyhaza and other towns expected the withdrawing Russians to greet them. Two armored car columns came through Nyiregyhaza and we asked the soldiers where they were going. A Russian major leaned out from the leading armored car and he said: "I wonder where the highway?" Now we asked him again in Russian where he was going and he, as well as the other soldiers in the armored car, replied: "There is a revolution at home. We go home." People were exuberant. In their happiness they hugged the Russian soldiers and congratulated them on their decision to go home. Now the Russian soldiers accepted the printed leaflets printed in Russian and explaining our revolution.

I ran to the amplifier and reported what I saw to Miskulc and Miskulc related the news. One or one and a half hours passed without any more units coming. The three member committee came to the amplifier and asked us: "How come we see no Russian troops withdrawing? You announced that they would." I replied to them that it would take time, of course until they arrived here coming from the inside of the country. It was somehow ordained that they didn't. More than that, at 8:30 or 9:00 P.M., I received reports from Zahony that new troops were pouring into Hungary again, and that they had built three new platoon bridges which made the number of the platoon bridges over the Tisza, six. And the troops just kept pouring into our country.



Later in the evening, I called up the office of Imre Nagy and I called up the Revolutionary Councils - Győr, Szombathely, Pécs, and Debrecen and Esztergom, and reported to them the new invasion of Soviet troops. Imre Nagy office told me that there must be some mistake because they just talked to the Russian Ambassador in Budapest and he categorically denied that any troop movements for the last 64 hours were going out of Hungary, certainly none into Hungary, he alleged. He added: there might have been troops that looked like they were coming into Hungary, when they were actual leaving the country. I suggest to Imre Nagy office, that they dispatch reconnoiter planes to check and verify my report. I also suggested to them that they take Ambassador with them to show him, from the air, what was going on and to ask him to explain the action - whether to the east or west. I suggested that they dispatch helicopters to film them so that nothing could be denied about their troop movements - (perhaps because of this conversation on Nov. 1st, a two-engine plane was sent for reconnaissance to our area.).

On the 30th, the Russians kept coming. The Chairman of the Worker's Council at Nyiregyhaza was requested by us to speak with Imre Nagy's office, and report about the Russian troop movements. He did. He told Imre Nagy's office that if the Russian troops were not halted, the people from Nyiregyhaza would go to Budapest. He was given the answer that negotiations were in full swing to withdraw the Russian troops. But I received constant reports from Nyirbator, from Beregsurany, from Kisvarda, and from Záhony. The pattern everywhere was the same. The railroad men in Záhony demolished the rails so as to halt the Russian troop movements by rail. That helped very little.

The Soviet's were skillfully maneuvering. They moved their troops in various directions. He observed tricky movements and informed the people of the signs, of the Russian vehicles, and so we were able to check in what directions they moved.

On Nov. 1, the Worker's Council sent me to the government to directly report about the Russian troop movements. They gave me a special bus and as I went on that bus toward Budapest, I saw the Russian troops - mainly the armored battalions all move toward the West through Szolnok and through Kecskemet, and through all of the towns I passed.

As we approached Budapest on the morning of the 3rd, we saw Russian troops digging in in three rings around Budapest. I went to the HQs office of the Nation-wide National Committee (Drasagos Nemzeti Bizottsag) and as I reported to them about everything, we saw in the area of Nyiregyhaza I was asked to coordinate all other reports and asked to take over the office of the Intelligence. I took over the Central Intelligence office for one day and I found the Russian troops pouring in to Hungary and surrounding air-ports and arms and ammunition depots.

In the morning of the 3rd, I went to the Prime Minister's office. From there I was sent to the office of Maletar, and gave him an elaborate report. He was eager to listen to those reports because his negotiations with General Malinin and three other Russian officers were to begin at 12:00 a.m. Maletar had Erdei, Kovacs, and Szucs on his committee. These negotiations lasted until 2:30 p.m. When they left they expected results from the negotiations. I had a chance to talk to Maletar up to 5:30 p.m. that night. He told me that the negotiations were proceeding well; they had already achieved agreement over a cease-fire agreement; over the point that no more Russian troops were to come to Hungary, and that a solemn farewell should be given to the Russian troops ~~xxxxxx~~ leaving Hungary. I told him to be very careful, to be extremely careful. He asked me to go over to the Ministry of Defense to the department of Intelligence and to coordinate reports over there. I went there and talked to Lieutenant - Colonel and told him the essence of our observations. He was very much surprised that my reports completely concurred with reports he had from other sources. He promised me to forward directly all the reports. About 9:00 or 9:30, I left and went back to the nation-wide Committee's office. People full of hope and confidence expected me there, and they told me that they would resume work on Monday.

I was terribly worried, but my worries were in very sharp contrast with the happy people whom I saw everywhere in the streets. I went to another amplifying station and reported to Miskulc and Nyiregyhaza Worker's Councils that the government has very reassuring experience with the direct negotiations with the Russians and they may prepare to resume work on Monday. The Miskulc radio had not wanted Imre Nagy then, but now they seemed convinced that a reserment with the Russians was achievable. In the evening, I called the nation-wide National Committee office in all major towns, and received reports from them that they all were surrounded by Russian units.

In the later hours, I called up Nyiregyhaza and Zahony and was told that the Soviet troop movements had stopped. They also reported that Soviet troop commanders went to the Worker's Councils, reassuring them of waiting for the outcome of the negotiations only.

It was the first time since October the 23rd that I fell sound asleep when I went home.

It was at 2:30 a.m. Nov. the 4th, that the Nyiregyhaza amplifier station reported to me that the Debrecen postoffice was under fire by the Russians. Soon we heard the same from Esztergom. We switched to the Nyiregyhaza amplifier station and they told me that the "ussian troops were invading Nyiregyhaza and that ~~they were~~ as they talked, the operator said: "Here they come!" Then he started telling how they went into the ~~city~~ and then his broadcast stopped. I called now the Szombathely amplifier and I was horrified to hear the voice of an AVO man reporting to me that everything was "okay". I called up the lieutenant-colonel of the Ministry of Defense with whom I had talked the previous day coordinating our informations on Russian troop movements and he told me that the officers in the Ministry of Defense are shooting it out because the Communist officers made a palace revolution. I called Imre Nagy's office and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Zoltan Tildy reported. He told me they had no connection with the negotiating committee they had dispatched to the Russian HQs. As we talked our connections were interrupted.

I wanted to organize a defense of our building - that of the nation-wide National Committee, and we were prepared to fight. Many students came to us for weapons and we gave them to them. Later, we decided that it was not worthwhile to defend this building and went over in the evening to a building at the University. On my way, I met a Swedish journalist and I gave him an interview about the events I experienced.

All the next day I was with the University students in various buildings at the University and we waited for the assault of the Russians.

On the 6th, the Russians came, led by an AVO officer, who had been with us the previous day as a Freedom fighter and whom we know recognized as an AVO officer. We fought with the Russians for about one or two hours. 18 dead, and I don't know how many wounded. I saw 42 students tricked into surrendering by the Russians and saw them captured and led away. The Russians stood them up in front of the tanks and chased them along in front of their tanks and we felt powerless and fled from that bldg.



" It seems to me as I was pondering that further resistance was not justified and I went to a student's dormitory where I had friends, to talk things over with them. I met there not only Hungarians, but also Greeks, African, Korean, and Bulgarian students. We had a lot of debates with them as to what was right to do. Most of these students had arms in their hands and they didn't give even a thought of surrendering those arms.

" Next day, a group of the students fought on the Kiraly Square and debates were going on again that night while I stayed again with them. The Greeks in our dormitory were against the Revolution, and the Koreans were for it. Things went on in the same fashion for the next few days without any grave events. On the 14th, I was called up by a teaching assistant who was the headmaster of the dormitory, and he suggested that I leave the dormitory at once because the AVO was after me. I followed his advice and until the 23rd, I slept where I was invited to stay in one of the three homes who had invited me. Those were people with whom I got acquainted during the fight. There were some fifteen or twenty of us who worked together to develop underground resistance. I suggested to them that we talk to Kadar, but one of the Communist leaders who was with and for the revolution suggested that we do not see Kadar because it might cost us our lives.

" One of my sisters arrived from Nyiregyhaza. She told me that the AVO were terrorizing our town and that people were desperate. She told me about the deportations which went to the Soviet Union and said that a great many slips of paper had been found with messages from the deportees with exact addresses of their loved ones.

" By the twenty-third, the administration and all means of communications were taken over by the Red's regims. Our resistance group decided that I had to leave. I took my sister with me after I received false papers. The next day, that is the 24th, I crossed the border to Austria."

A. The demonstrations: Respondent knew of the demonstration on the 21st of October. He learned by 'phone on the afternoon of the 23rd, learning from friends on the 'phone from Budapest while at the amplifying station. He wanted the government then to declare independence and neutrality like Switzerland and Austria have. He was not ready to enter negotiations about compromises.

When the fighting started he saw no real end. He could not judge the outcome because he had never lived in his conscious life the life of a free person.

Speaking about the two demonstrators, respondent refers to the great demonstrations which took place in Nyiregyhaza, mainly on the 27th when the AVO was still very strong, and when immense Russian forces marched

through Nyiregyhaza, and he also remarks that in Nyiregyhaza that there were no policies and no major plans.

All classes of society were represented in the demonstrations, and respondent says that the Workers were the ones who started them, but youth, employees, rail-road men, labor joined. There were fewer women than men but they were in very good fighting spirit, he says. There were many border people among them, and the older people were particularly with them in watching, and wishing the best, and trying to give them advice as to what they should do in taking over the leadership.

Respondent smiles at my question about the organization and leadership of the demonstrations. He says that everything was absolutely "spontaneous" People were eager to see what someone did do, or didn't do, and then they jumped into help on those tasks. There was no competition about tasks which someone was ready to shoulder. People sought a different assignment.

#### Ex: The fighting

#### B. The fighting:

Asked how the demonstrations turned into fighting, respondent refers to the Nyiregyhaza fighting, and tells me that the skirmish could have been avoided had the Russians returned to the USSR, ~~but~~ not otherwise.

Speaking of who fought in Nyiregyhaza during the short periods of the fight, respondent says they were mainly young workers and students. There was an overwhelming feeling of the expectation of freedom. They thought it would be a gradual development, but as the Russians kept pouring in Hungary, they saw their expectations completely destroyed, and they didn't care about consequences. "The stake was too high. It balanced out everything. The hope that the depression would be over, overwhelmed us completely." Respondent thought that the overall outcome of the revolution would be independence and totality.

Respondent's reaction to the government's calling for Russian troops was: "a dirty lie" because Gero said: "We asked for the help of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary and this was a bare-faced lie, since those Soviet troops were not stationed in Hungary at all. They were invading Hungary!"

C. The Reinvasion:

Respondent explained in the foregoing chapters how he spent the days between the Soviet withdrawal ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ - the so-called withdrawal, and the time of the so-called re-invasion. Respondent believed in the Russian retreat only for a few hours on the 29th of October. Otherwise as reported quite elaborately in the following chapters, he saw technical maneuvers only on the 31st, and some on the 29th. Otherwise all he saw and observed was through reliable friends...I might say outposts on the border. Nothing else but the invasion of Hungary by new Russian troops. Respondent didn't see any Russian troops leaving Hungary, only those coming into Hungary. This has been explained previously.

His major lines of activity were also elaborately explained in the foregoing chapters.

Respondent began explaining his escape on Nov. 22 when he learned that the AVO was looking for him at his brother's home in Budapest.

D. When respondent is asked whether he thinks that the whole of Hungary has gained because of the Revolution, this is his answer: "I don't think Hungary gained. The terror ~~XXXXXX~~ exercised by the Russian Communists has become much more vicious than at the beginning of the Revolution.

"Hungary has gained international reputation, and its heroic resistance prompted the UN to pass 13 or 14 resolutions.

" The Hungarian people learned that their hope and trust put in the West was misplaced because the West was not ready to stand up behind them. You may call this a gain. It is also a gain that they were headed for Communism and Russian oppression increased.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In the past, I said to myself that it wasn't worth staying in Hungary because the people are not freedom-loving enough. They cannot stand up in action against oppression and I started studying French and English so that I could leave for the West and I planned to escape. During the revolution, however, I learned that the Hungarian people are heroic, selfless and imaginative. I learned that private initiative is greater than ~~XXXXXX~~ in any other phase of history. And I decided, I would not leave Hungary. I would stay with these wonderful people forever. I think that other people reached similar conclusions. I think this a great gain.



EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. Respondent expected from the West that the UN would guarantee Hungary's independence and neutrality. He hoped that the West would be far-sighted enough to recognize that it would be for wider interest to have an independent and neutral Hungary. He argues that the Middle East situation was not less dangerous than the Hungarian. He argues that the West had all the right to go into Hungary during the days of freedom. He says that neutrality can be guaranteed ~~not~~ only if during elections not only one occupational power is in Hungary but if several of the free nations are represented. Finally, he suggests that if a fact-find committee had been in Hungary as he hoped it would be, then it could have secured Hungarian independence, particularly if it had some ~~xxxxxx~~ token international police force with it. Respondent adds that he expected no arms from the West.

B. When respondent is asked on what basis he formed his expectations, he explains: "As a matter of course, a basis of my expectations was the vital interest of the West!"

C. Respondent ran across a Swedish Journalist on Nov. 4th and he told him what he thought of the Russian attack. The Swedish journalist was very understanding and showed a great interest in respondent's views.

## SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

### A. Family Background.

Respondent's father was until 1942 unskilled laborer. In 1942, he built a house himself and opened a tavern in that house in town. From then on he became a tavern keeper. He built the house out of the money he had put aside by thrifty living from his earnings as unskilled labor. By 1951, taxes imposed by the Communist regime upon private business managed to kill his business completely, and what taxes didn't ruin him, the cruel short-portioning of liquor to private dealers, did.

Respondent's father completed six grades of elementary school, but he read a great deal and was particularly interested in biography, history and politics. He had a library of his own, but he himself never took part in politics. He was so independent minded that he challenged communist lecturers in evening classes. Respondent thinks very highly of his father's outlook on the world. He thinks he was particularly good in foreign affairs. From 1951, he had become a bartender.

### B. Social Classes.

Respondent thinks that the largest class is the workers, and with the peasantry compose about the same social strata. Another stratum in society are the intellectuals and on top of all of these are the communist aristocrats. By intellectuals, respondent means educators, professional people, scientists and engineers, writers, etc.

Speaking about respondent's actual contact with these groups, he says that he came from a worker's family and that he met an immense number of workers in the tavern. When going to other posts of the amplifying system of long distance lines, he talked very often to peasants because he was interested in them, and he felt as one with them. He was often called to check teletype machines in other towns and met them that way. He thinks these classes were not much different one from the other, and he thinks the less class difference there is, the better society works.

He himself belonged to by being a student of engineering and a highly skilled technician to the intellectuals' class and he played much tennis with other members of this class.

In respondent's view, the Hungarian people were killed mentally, spiritually, politically and economically, not as classes but as individuals. All non-conformists were exterminated one way or another under absolute dictatorship.

When respondent is asked about the various classes, he protests against "such generalizing questions" which he thinks "are unworthy of scientific questionnaires.

And now he restates what he has said before about his belonging to the class of the intellectuals. He didn't mean it in the sense that the Marxist's speak about classes. He just meant that in his thoughts he felt he belonged to them, but that he, in his own heart, belonged to all classes in Hungary except the communist aristocracy.

C. Class opinions:

Respondent never observed differences in classes, or attitudes of classes toward one another as he saw no privileges. His stand was completely proven by the revolution that all differences existing and imagined were washed away by the events. Although communists preached class struggle, he says he never believed of the general struggle in the various strata of Hungarian society. For instance, he is a "Kulac", but there was only one class which grouped together and which were looked upon as a superb class and that was the Communist aristocracy. They were hated by all. Respondent says in conclusion: "I spoke very much to all kinds of people in different segments of our area and in various jobs, and in all walks of life, and they were all concerned with the regime, and not with one another - certainly not with one another as members of so-called classes!"

E. Social Advancement:

Asked what chances there were in Hungary for an individual to get ahead, respondent says that any one who had some talent and was willing to echo - all the lies of the regime - were on the road to advancement under Communism.

There were others, respondent explains, who were erroneously selected, and they didn't dare explain that they didn't belong to those who were ready to serve communism under any circumstances. It was really funny when someone was nominated because he was thought of as Communist, or at least a person willing to serve communism and others didn't dare say so because they were afraid they would hurt him in his vital interests, and that they themselves would be considered unloyal in not voting for the party nominee. Such people erroneously selected as good "party" material were particularly of worker origin, he says, because they had to be of middle-class opinions and be of bourgeois prejudices the Communists thought.



Of course, he says, there was also a few people of worker origin who were really ready to echo the ideas of the communists and who were manageable because they actually had no vision.

From 1953, some improvement came and the talent counted more. But after Imre Nagy was discarded, the situation again became worse. After the 20th Party Congress, talent again figured somewhat more. In an attempt to describe the kind of individual who would get ahead in Communist Hungary, respondent had this to say: "It's the unprincipled, over-indulgent type - the ~~xxx~~ chameleon type - who ~~changes~~ color changes. This type, above all, gets ahead. Besides, however, outstanding sportsmen and the artists, and the scientists can also get ahead without being such unprincipled cowards."

#### FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Respondent thinks that Communism had a considerable effect upon family life in Hungary. "The sacredness of the atmosphere of marriage and family life was broken, because both partners had to work and none of them could devote himself to the family. Besides, most people were emotionally low and nervous, because it was very difficult for them to have to shut-up on the job and not to say what they thought was right. Poor housing, and lack of housing upset them emotionally, and the fact that the average person was the villain about to leave or change his job without the permission of the higher-ups. The even more distressing fact that many a family was separated by long distances between the job and the family home greatly contributed to family life breaking up".

When respondent is asked about how he feels about these changes, he answers: "I think much more of family life than of inter marriage without having a chance for my wife to devote herself completely to the family, and particularly to ~~the raising of our~~ rearing our children."

As to the question as to whether Communism changed the way in which children were brought up, respondent had this to say: "There were many more families forced to keep their children in schools than in any time before Communism, and a basic change was the fact that religious instruction was forbidden and there was practically no way to get one ~~secretly~~ secretly. Schools themselves gave no religious - education.

Asked whether during the last ten years the extent to which children obeyed their parents, ~~has~~ underwent any changes, respondent says that many prejudices, good and not so good prejudices which existed before, were gone. For instance, he says, there were no prejudices held now about young people returning before 8:00 P.M., and there were fewer social prejudices. That is to say, practically none, As far as getting acquainted with people of the other sex is concerned. Careers were freely chosen - that is, free from social prejudices. After this free choice was made, official Hungary sent people to study, to take up whatever they thought was right. According to respondent, there was quite a conflict between the official lines of the schools and of the parental barriers. The Communists forced the schools to teach history in a completely distorted way, and to teach all kinds of falsehoods to the children, like - even about their own standard of life. Since children learned different things from their parents, it often occurred that a child would say: "Mother told me ..." Generally speaking, the regime was anxious to give much pride to youth "a well-indoctrinated youth" would be a strong pillar of Communism.

C. Sex patterns:

Respondent feels that he had no information of times before he grew up to compare difference between patterns of marriages during the communist period, or methods of courting then and now. He can say, however, that because of the increasing oppression, also increasing financial difficulties faced families, and it happened that a husband was away from his family for two and a half years when he was a soldier, and his wife grew desperate because she had no livelihood, and divorced her husband. A great many tragedies so happened, respondent says.

Prostitution was forbidden in Hungary, he says, but there were labor camps and so-called "socialist cities" and in this camps morale was utterly low and most probably there was prostitution there as well. These "socialist cities" had a very bad reputation all over the country. These cities are Dunaentele (Szalinváros), Kézincbárcika, and Berente.

Respondent says the the Communistic regime had no official stand about sexual morality, but he thinks its very significant to know that legitimate children were bought by the State and a boy was bought for 5,000 forints and a girl for 2,000 forints. In 1946, he says, a paper carried a lot of debates about the ethical aspects of abortion and finally it was decided that abortion would be permissible upon reasonable requests of both of the marriage partners.

In respondent's opinion, the Communists could have been more or less inhibited about sexual matters because he had practically no contact with communists. He still thinks that such matters could depend upon the individual rather than upon the group.

D. Friendships with Communists:

Respondent emphasized right in the beginning when we talked about friendship with Communist Party members and minor party functionaries, that he has a liberal opinion. He points out that he likes to judge people, and he hopes that a great many Hungarians feel the same, by their performance and not by their party affiliations which exist mostly on paper anyway. "By their fruits, you will know them", he quotes. A lieutenant who had been a good friend of respondent's became a Party member and they remained good friends. Respondent knew other party members and minor functionaries, for instance, the Party Chairman in his own outfit. These actually were good persons who were well-intentioned. His own Party Chairman eliminated evil persons who were sinister in their efforts. He eliminated them with the intention of making them harmless.



Respondent volunteers this information: "I myself was tempted on several occasions to become a Party member. I stayed within the framework of the Party as much as I could, and I think I would have been just the same person within the Party as I have been outside of it."

Respondent says again and again that the picture about Party membership, or lack of it, is quite confused and that any oversimplification would do a great harm.

Party affiliation should be no determining factor. At the same time, he also emphasizes that members of the Communist Aristocracy are to be judged quite differently. He cannot imagine someone within the Communist Aristocracy who is even half-way decent, because otherwise he could not have stayed with it - the Party aristocracy. Respondent answers an unqualified answer to the question, whether one could continue friendship with a Party Communist member. "Yes." He adds. "Of course he must be well-intentioned and clean in his conduct."

8. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Crimes and Alcoholism:

Respondent declines to give any estimate as to whether there has been an increase in such major crimes as robbery, murder, rape and the like, because he says these questions cannot be answered by guessing, but only by statistics. He disclaims knowledge of statistics before and during Communism. He emphasizes that newspapers did not usually report on crimes except perhaps in 1956 Szabad Nep started doing so. Respondent says the same about the crime rate in women. Young people he knows little of, in relation to police, and not political crimes.

Respondent answers a hesitation "Perhaps" to the question as to whether alcoholism has increased during the last ten years.

Speaking of Juvenile Delinquency, respondent says that perhaps there has been some increase but he doesn't actually know.

Respondent laughs when we come to speak of the Jampec. He says that the Jampecs are allegedly cosmopolitan people who are sold on Western ways. He says that the Communist Party organs make so much noise about them, that they await a new interest in the "forbidden fruit". In an attempt to describe a Jampec, respondent says that they demonstrate excellent extravagance in dressing. Even if they have only one decent suit that has to be different. Respondent thinks that almost anything extravagant in youth was branded "Jampec" by official Party line. He even recalls that policemen led away such persons from public parties and dances because they thought such extravagance does not belong in the midst of the ordinary toiler.

RELIGION

A. Communist effect: "Respondent has this to say about the effect of religious life of the Communist rule:" Officially, the functions of the churches were not prohibited, but the circumstances were such that everyone was forced to think twice before openly attending any church functions, and particularly before revealing that they did attend, giving religious instructions to children, or having wedding ceremonies in a church and was considered detrimental to one's standing in the files of the Party and could result in removal from office but at any rate in poor rating and in permanent bothering."

Respondent thinks that it was the Catholic church which was hardest hit because it showed great resistance and because it was more connected with the Western world than the protestant churches. It was also thought of as a strong representative of the Capitalist world because it had had large estates before.

Asked about Communist effects on protestenism, respondent said that those among the protestants who resisted were dealt with just the same as with Catholics but fewer of them were expected to resist by the Communists.

Respondent claims lack of information about the effects of Communism on Jewish religion.

B. effect on personal life:

Respondent considers religion to play a very important factor in his life, but he thinks, humbly, that it is less of a factor in his life than in the life of his parents. He has not dared to compare his emotion to religion to that of the average person in Hungary, because he thinks there is very little ground to talk about the religion of the average Hungarian with individual differences.

Respondent was an irregular church going, but supported his church regularly.

C. Church function:

Respondent says that in a non-Communist country, church should play a very important role in the religious-ethical education of youth and of everyone, but it should not be part of the state. The moral codes which churches could set in such things as movies and plays should be unlike orders, and people should make up their minds as individuals whether or not they heed the warnings of the churches.

Respondent says that churches should by no means play an active political role in an independent Hungary, and that there should be a complete separation between the church and the state.

D. The Jewish minority:

When asked whether or not the Jewish religion had been hurt by Communism, respondent replied: "The regime hated everything with doctrines and rituals, and of course, the Jewish church was just another one." Respondent does not feel able to judge whether or not the Jewish religion was effected to a lesser extent than other churches.

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Speaking of the attitude ~~xxxxxx~~ Jews toward Communism in Hungary, he explains that the Communist regime made it possible for the Jews offer their martyrs, and many streets and squares were named after Jews who died of Nazi persecution. The regime also made it possible for a portion of many Jews to work in the leading positions. This was one factor, and another, he explains, was many of the Jews were inclined to generalize and to ~~xxxxxx~~ blame "Free Hungarians" for the terrible lot they had suffered under the pro-Nazi regime in Hungary, and these factors contributed to their associating themselves with the regime which imposed no special hardships on them. All of this, he thinks, relates only to many Jews and not to "The Jews", because, after all, their attitudes were very varied.

Respondent doesn't know whether Jewish attitudes have changed during the last ten years, or not.

Were many Jews Communists? we asked, and what their motives were, and respondent answered partly yes, and since many Jews were in the leading positions of political as well as economical life and Party membership in those leading positions were compulsory. Thus people in such positions were not known to the great masses of people made the impression that there were more Jews in the Hungarian Communist Party than actually might have been. These things, he says, cannot be decided by opinions but only by statistics.

Speaking of the attitudes and actions of the Jews during the Revolution, respondent says that there were three kinds among them - such as those who participated on the side of the revolution - such who didn't stir because they were afraid that the tide might turn against them - that public sentiment might assume anti-semitic tones, and therefore preferred not to be seen in public; others were found among the AVO and in Party Leadership, and were against the revolution. Respondent thinks he cannot estimate proportions. Whether Jews were involved in fighting and demonstrations, he says: "Of course" and says there were many and he



quotes an outstanding experience. He says that it was on Nov. 18, that a Jewish family which had a mimeographing machine put it at the disposal of the Freedom Fighters and when they were detected one of the boys took the entire blame upon himself to save his family and to save the other freedom fighters who were involved in printing the Communist leaflets.

Respondent thinks that it would serve a purpose best if Jews were asked whether they were afraid of an independent Hungary. When asked to give an opinion of his own, respondent has this to say: " I don't think any Hungary of our dreams, any people have to fear. The revolution was unbelievably fair, and atrocities never occurred against the Jews. There were only a few atrocities committed by people as instant retaliation against some members of the AVO. I have yet to find a place in Hungary, in another revolution, perhaps, where one word is said against the Jews!" and, " the Freedom Fighters had the general attitude of judging the people by their merits and giving individual treatment to everybody."

THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

Respondent thinks that 'the Hungarian' is between the ages of 14 and 30, quite generally speaking.

B. Leadership in the revolution :

Respondent thinks that the youth of Hungary took the lead in the revolution. He says: " University and college students started the demonstrations; then delegates went to young workers in industrial plants."

About six months before the revolution, the Petofi Circles were attended all over by youth. The initiative for demonstrations came from the youth, and he thinks the same is true about fighting, but not only students, but also workers and peasants who did most of the fighting.

Respondent says that youth was more idealistic and youth generally speaking represents more explosive energy, and this is one of the reasons they took the lead. "I've never lived in a world better than the miserable one under Communism. But I spoke to many older people who told me about much better circumstances of life in their youth, so I was looking for such, and I'm sure that is true of all of the youth."

Respondent thinks that the older people were amazed at the maturity of youth, and even more at the mature behaviour. Respondent thinks that youth didn't think much about older people, as they were seen everywhere, and because there was no other person critical of their actions. 75

C. Educational System:

Generally speaking, respondent says about education in Hungary: "It was absolutely regimented by the regime." Hungary was physically completely isolated from the Western world, definitely more isolated than the Americans can imagine" respondent insists. The isolation was increased, year after year. He mentions one characteristic example of such isolation. He tells a story about a book which appeared about brain surgery, and about which they held a lecture to experts and Santha, an outstanding brain specialist said that he had studied that same method years prior to that, at Oxford University. This resulted in Santha being kicked out.

The keynote in education was: "To educate youth to love the Soviet Union". He explains and maintains that Soviet leading role in every field of life and science was glorified. He says that the Russians like to pose as greater super-men than the Germans ever did.

Asked about restrictions of vocational choice, he explains that when he graduated it was decided how many students could be admitted to the University of Debrecen, and of the University of Budapest. He alleges that the same was true of the grade school and high school. Social origin of the student and of the relation of his parents to the Communist Party were the deciding factors in choosing who was worthy of being admitted to a college or University.

Respondent says of the quality of education that in technical aspects it was quite satisfactory, particularly in grade schools. Perhaps even too much, he thinks. He insists that the schedule in schools contain more than in prior years before Communism.

Speaking of the teaching personnel, respondent says that the Communists are eager to relieve the old with new teachers who came from colleges where they are supposed to have been endowed with new Communist mentality. They were, however, not always up to Communistic expectations, but whether they were or not, they certainly had less experience than the old teachers and they actually Communistic minded among them, tried to penetrate youth's mind, but there were only a few ambitious among them.

Youth in many cases, respondent explains, provoked discussions, and they forced teacher to agree with them, in a great many cases. He mentions one case where his military science teacher was transferred because he agreed with their reasoning. All in all, he says, one must admit that there were more and more among the young teachers who were "reliable" in ~~from~~ the Communist view.

#### D. Indoctrination:

Respondent says that most of the energy of Communists were devoted to political training of people. They believe that people should be trained political and that their minds may be transformed. In the Service they had two hours, twice a week, devoted to political education, and it was mandatory to attend DISZ seminars. The essential part of radio, of press and of other media of communication were geared to indoctrinating people. The teaching of Marx were particularly important from 1949. Books, article, speeches committed by Stalin were foremost in teaching of Communism.



Respondent thinks that the line attitude of Communism was why they failed to indoctrinate the youth. Older people knew the truth and "we had the advantage because we saw the glorious Red Army in action" respondent explains. "An unlimited terror invaded the life of the intellectuals and the economical and the political, and the military level, equally. They jammed down the throat of all people terrors all their lives, and people saw such contradictions as, for instance, - one of the basis doctrines of Marxism is that it is not people who form history, but it is history that shapes people, at the same time, Stalin was the life as the Great Creator of modern times." Respondent holds that Communists had confessed the weaknesses, the short-comings of Communism, of their system; if they had emphasized that all these steps they are taking are only intermediary steps- in other words if they had not idealized reality, they could have ~~had much better~~ cared much better. Respondent tells us that youth was not interested in indoctrination. They found it irksome. They found it confused, and they found the teachers ill-prepared. They attacked quite often in class the absurdities of Communism. Respondent recalls for instance, the case when they were told that Stalin is taking care of the ~~welfare~~ welfare of the people of Moscow, and respondent's father said: "Well, are the Russians animals, that they have to be cared for?". The Communists spoke again and again of plans inspired by Stalin, and they asked each other why have continuing scientific plans inspired by ~~Stalin~~ Stalin. Don't other people have nay brains that they must be inspired by a great demagogue." Respondent emphasizes that people returning from POW camps from Soviet Russia, ~~or~~ or, from the battle line in Russia during the second World War had very much to say, and they were listened to very carefully by people. People all came to the conclusion that the Hungarian people were far ahead of the Russian in ~~intellectual~~ ~~and~~ ~~cultural~~ cultural development. They found the Hungarians more diligent than the Russians. When Russia s, so-called Stakinivites were brought to Hungary to demonstrate that their superior working skill, they were found either fakes , or people who were able to do superior work only for a short time.

People saw Russians building and they were "slow as lice".

All in all, all people came to the conclusion that Communists is the greatest Capitalism in the world - that it is a mono-Capitalism, and thinking people see only great contradictions in Leninism, and Marxism.

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When asked about changes in peoples attitude toward Communism, respondent says that he had been for rationalization of banks, mines and some industries but he had never been for creating a State Capitalism, and he thinks that this view of his is generally shared by Hungarians.

MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. Respondent says that terror and low-living standards were the main sources of dissatisfaction in Hungary.

B. Respondent thinks that aside from political things, people have been complaining most in Communist Hungary about the isolation of the country; about the one-sided indoctrination they received; about the regimentation of the authors, and of course the terror that manifested itself everywhere. Coming back to isolation, respondent remarks that Roumanians and Czechs were called "friendly peoples" "democracies" and yet people were isolated from other people living in those countries.



## THE ECONOMIC LIFE

### A. The standard of living:

Respondent explains that he had very little knowledge of the economic life because he lived with his parents and they took care of all of his material needs. His housing was secure, and he had cheaper, easier and far better food than if he had had to live on his own. He says that the standard of living was extremely low, and we can't imagine how low it was, because if we take a complete set of clothing, it would cost more than \$4,000, and respondent's monthly pay was 1100 forints. Just one overcoat would have cost him \$1600.

Respondent considered the following things as characteristic of luxury. A bicycle - going to a movie - a motorcycle which was far beyond the dreams of any decent person, or a car. It was a luxury even to travel, he explains.

He thinks that clothing caused the greatest headaches.

He says that the living standard of his family, and of his own, was a joke. He says that one Hungarian says to another "You know what living standard is?" and the other says: "No, I don't." The first one explains to him. "It is like an airplane. The higher it is for the people, the smaller it is." He draws a parallel between the living-standard of his folks before the war and after the war. He says that the following fact was characteristic. Before Communism had taken over, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ his parents were able to spend one week every year at a summer resort not far from their home. But after, this was never possible every year, but only once in three years.

Respondent lacks information on what particularly was missed as compared to living before 1946 but ~~XX~~ he can tell us that people had to work much harder and that work was more strenuous and over a period of time to earn the same living.

Respondent's living standard was the highest in 1948 when the Forint economy was introduced, when the currency became stabilized. It was the lowest in 1956.

Respondent volunteers to name two of his acquaintances who were better off than any others. The first example concerns his boss, who was an electrical technician, and who had a three ~~rooms~~ and he made a good salary. His wife also worked, made clothes and they had one child. They lived in one household with their in-laws who took care of the child

*- family home*

and of the many chores in the household. The second example is that of an independent, private oil-digging company, that is to say the owner of it, who earned a great deal simply because his business was sought after a great deal.

Respondent thinks that the slave-labor system of the Communist regime was responsible, above all, for the low-living standard during the last eight years. The Communist system made the working man dissinterested in production because he didn't share its fruits, respondent says.

#### B. Income:

Respondent's monthly income was in 1956 was 1100 forints. Approximately 40-50 forints were deducted from his pay for union dues, etc. The premiums and other extra pay he received were included in the estimated 100 forints a month. Respondent had no other source of income. He was not the head of the family. His father was, and his earnings supplemented that of his father. Respondent received wage increase over the last five years after he ~~was~~ took a technical course, which lasted for nine months.

#### C. Prices:

Respondent had so little personal responsibility in the economic field as he lived with his parents that he disclaims any knowledge of various prices in the stores, and he says he never cared about the various aspects of economic life at all, so he doesn't know much about it.

There is one point in which he feels he can supply information. Namely, he found retail goods were of much higher quality during the Youth World Convention which was held in Budapest. The Communists wanted to show the world that Hungary actually lived well, and they supplied all stores with very good merchandise during those weeks. Respondent says everything was too expensive for regular purchasing and shoes for small children were practically unavailable.

Respondent says that black-marketing was practically over after the ~~inflation~~ inflation was overcome by the currency. He says that legal outlets refuse in many ~~ways~~ places to sell spare-parts in some instances, lard, linen, unless they paid a higher price than was authorized. He says that black-~~market~~ butchering was particularly dangerous, especially if one was a "Kulac". They were considered dark reactionaries and received several years in jail.

D. Working Conditions:

Respondent was an amplifier-station maintenance worker on long distance telephone lines. All long distance, and other lines, were owned and operated by the Hungarian Post Office. Respondent worked 54 hours a week. His main job was checking on instruments and all equipment, and it was for timing and repair. He had this particular job from choice, and because he had no chance to attend the regular university, only a night course. He had excellent relations with his superiors. There were about 16 people working at this place, and the atmosphere was very friendly, and he had excellent relations with all of them - his associates. He was satisfied with his job, and as well with all the conditions except that they were watched by the AVO. Since the AVO personnel watching over them were no experts, they had a great deal of freedom. Sometimes they could even play tricks with the AVO.

Respondent thinks that his fellow workers were excellent at their jobs.

He thinks that the Hungarian health program was essentially very good, but that the compensation program was not generous enough. Neither was the vacation program.

E. Agriculture:

Respondent would prefer to live in a country town, although he doesn't know whether or not the agricultural workers have a better diet in Communist Hungary, than the city workers, in spite of the fact that he thinks that the general standard of living is better in towns.

When asked who had an easier time politically, respondent said: "In Budapest, people were not so closely watched. In any smaller place, however, petty tyrants controlled all phases of life. It happened in Nyiregyhaza that a preacher, a physician, a teacher and respondent himself became friendly in the summer of '56 and from then on, they met quite regularly and it turned out in Oct. '56, that these men and these meetings were very closely watched by the secret police. Respondent mentions this fact, to make it clear, what he means by being watched in Nyiregyhaza, which is a middle-sized town. By middle-sized in Hungary, we mean something between 40-50,000 population.



When collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, respondent didn't form an opinion, but he looked with distrust toward this move, because he knew of ~~business~~ <sup>collectives</sup> in Russia, he had heard of them from POW's who had been in Soviet Russia. Respondents current opinion of collectivization as practiced in Hungary is that perhaps if people had gotten together on their own, it might have proven a much more effective one, but since these ~~businesses~~ <sup>collectives</sup> were called into life by Communists, most everything about them is a very sad story.

According to respondent, everybody, and he emphasises everybody objected strongly to collectivization.

When respondent is asked if he heard of collectives being dissolved, he answers that many of those facts are publicly known, because the collective farms did not prosper, people were eager to dissolve them. Those collectives didn't prosper because of various reasons, he claims. The basic fact is that the members didn't care to put much effort into the collective farms, because they were not their own. Another was that the chairman, usually Party secretaries ~~was~~ neither cared, nor knew much about farming, (with exceptions, respondent deems it necessary to remark) and some of the collective farms did prosper, but those, in most cases were orchards where real experts managed the farms.

When he is asked whether ~~xxxxxx~~ he would prefer life on a collective farm, a state farm, or a private farm, as an agricultural worker, he says that in many cases, it could be very good, or very bad, depending on a great many circumstances.

When asked ideally what kind of agricultural system he would like to see in an independent Hungary, he answered: "I would depend upon the people of Hungary, and upon agricultural experts to form my opinion."

THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948:

Respondent began getting interested in public matters when the Russian troops captured Nyiregyhaza. The second time, at the end of the second World War, and when they captured more than 2000 civilians in the following manner: they issued orders that all people should report to work as the building of Hungary had to start at once. The unfortunate people who obeyed these calls to assume work the next morning, appeared to have made a terrible error because they were taken to the USSR as slave labor.

Only a small percentage of them came back after three years, and those told horrible tales about the way their companions perished in slave labor camps in Soviet Russia. As respondent grew up, he became gradually more interested in politics, particularly in foreign politics.

Respondent had neither membership in, nor much sympathy for any particular political party. He always thought very little of party affiliations.

His father was a persuaded social-democrat, but not a dogmatic believer in Marxism.

Respondent knew the basic facts about Bela Kun and his terror regime of the Communist Party of 1918-19. He had no sympathy for it, for he knew of Bela Kun's and Szamuely's gory dictatorship.

Before, and during the war, respondent had no particular opinion about the Communist party because he completely lacked information about it.

There were changes in his attitudes in 1948. He claims that because he hated the Communist Party and Communism as such, and particularly because of the fraud they dared to call "election".

B. Communist Party after 1948.

Respondent claims that he knows several different types of Communist Party members but he feels he can divide them into larger groups. The first group are those who joined the party by themselves. Among them he knew some blind fanatics; he knew many who were persuaded communists and were later disillusioned. Among these again, he knew such who dared to reveal this disillusionment, and others who didn't dare to do so.

He also knew many unscrupulous opportunists among the voluntary Party members. He put in the second group those who were forced into the Party - those who had families with small children, and had to secure livelihood that way. Others among these were people who worked in responsible positions, like a head physician who considered it much more conscientious to stay in their posts and to do good work than to leave.

Respondent feels that by having given ~~him~~ an estimate as to various groups within the Communist Party, he has made their reasons for joining and, at this point, he again emphasizes that there were a great many disillusioned Communists.

Asked about Party politics and the changes during the last eight years, respondent says; after the Rajk trial in 1949, terror increased. The Party leadership was furious and increased terror to gain a greater hold of the population. In 1953, the program of Imre Nagy brought relaxation and respondent thinks that the most important fact in these relaxations was that people were allowed to have debates, even in the Army. People took advantage of the situation and raised a good many doubts and voiced them. After the phase of the Imre Nagy relaxations, the reaction from the Rakosi clique reversed this, and no more debates were allowed. At the same time, it is true, they were very hard to stop, but as far as Party policies are concerned, they were very anxious to see debates complete stopped. In the winter of '55, and particularly in the spring of '56, when the rehabilitation processes began, serious debates ensued. The 20th Party Congress was, of course, most important in effecting changes. Still the party policy was to allow debates but only "constructive criticism" and no "demagoguery", but people were anxious to take advantage of these relaxations. It happened, as an example, that in a meeting under the chairmanship Erzsébet Andics that one of the participants in the meeting said that in the present situation, Rakosi is on ~~the~~ one side of the scales, and the innocent victims of his regime, are on the other.

Respondent thinks that changes in Party policies ~~was~~ occurred because the bankruptcy of the regime was completely apparent and they wanted to head off a disastrous turn of events.



Respondent thinks that there were serious differences within the Party. Party members didn't dare do, or say, much.

Speaking of Party morale, he says that as to the rank and file members the Communist reign of terror permeated everything. There was very real terror in every segment of the Communist Party.

Respondent says that the aims of the leaders of the Communist Party are to serve the Soviet Union well and to secure power of the police state over all of their subjects.

Faced with the question whether Party leadership believes in the stated purpose of the Party, respondent answers: "I wonder if they are of the mind, or think that we are, to believe them. I was in the Army when I asked a visiting General: 'Who was to deceive whom?', and that General was not at ease in answering me."

Speaking of the personality and the motives of the top leaders, respondent says that generally speaking upward from County level, the Party leaders are "power-mad", soldiers-of-fortune, and optimists, unscrupulous and generally speaking, the scum of the earth.

Respondent is convinced that there is an immense difference between leaders and members. Party meetings were hated by the rank and file members. The Party Secretary read us something; a few, seconded his speech - some polishers forced by threat to be loyal; others, clapped quite involuntarily, and nobody felt like saying anything, or saying anything.

When Hungary is independent, respondent thinks, that the top Hungarian Communists should stand trial, and be made responsible for their misdeeds, and that the punishments they would receive in the course of such a trial, should not be jail, nor penitentiary, but forced labor, so they could "build socialism".

#### C. Opposition:

Speaking of various forms of opposition, respondent hastens to remark that he has never heard of any work-slowdowns, because people were anxious to earn their daily bread, but that he knew of many criticisms. In 1953, when the relaxation program of Imre Nagy was in ~~in~~ effect, there was a wave of strong criticism, and again in 1956. By the Fall of '56, people dared to speak openly. You could hear a lot of criticism in the street cars and in trains. When people were reminded that this was a dangerous and destructive attitude, they referred to the fact

that these debates started within the Party. Respondent says that more and more people spoke out in the open and over that, it was topped by press publicity. Take for instance, such an outspoken paper as HETFOI HIRLAP. Its first issue, which appeared in August or September, said quite openly: "We have lied so far. Let's stop it!"

Respondent thinks that in opposition behavior, the decisive role was played by free speech. Even though actually not permitted, people still practiced it. He thinks that mainly the workers who spoke the most courageously, and amazingly enough, common soldiers.

This opposition behavior was not considered actually effective; it was something not done in a systematic way, but rather in a natural way. Acting upon natural instincts, and love of freedom, people expected changes.

Asked what kind of opposition behavior happened more often, he emphasizes that its and debates, and debates, did the trick. A free change of ideas and grievances amounted to the sturdiest type of opposition which let people know how other people felt.

Asked about the activities of the intellectuals, respondent says that the formation of HETFOI HIRLAP was the rallying point of newsmen who longed for freedom and who dared to do something about it. The IKODALMI UJSAG was the rallying point of authors with the same attitude. PETOFI KOR and PETOFI CIRCLE in English, was the rallying point of people who were neither authors nor newsmen, but longed for doing something in the intellectual way - they wished to express their longing for freedom. Originally, the Petofi Circle had been, respondent explains, the discussion club of DISZ.

He explains that the Petofi Circle was well-known. It became well-known after its famous first meeting when Tardos and Dery spoke. This meeting was either in June, or in July. He heard about it in Nyiregyhaza.

When respondent is asked what he could tell us about the "intellectual ferment" prior to the Petofi meetings, he is eager to explain that people were not aware of any so-called "intellectual ferment" or any preparation for a revolution, but the problems of the day filled minds completely and none among the common people looked forward to anything definite except for changes - simply changes. In that respect you may call it a ferment, he agrees, and he refers to SZABAD NEM, the official Communist organ, which quite outspokenly criticized circumstances and even persons.

When he is asked if the intellectuals have anything new to say - or were they just the ordinary ideas everyone held, etc., respondent tells us that he saw two issues of IRODALMI UJSAG and he thinks that the mere fact that authors and newspaper men spoke up freely and gave shape to what people actually felt and thought and said to each other in a rather confidential way was very much to their credit, and conclusively respondent thinks that the role of these people ~~was~~ summarized the ideas of the people.

Respondent's reaction to them was, at that time, that those were very valuable and valiant people and it seemed to him that all of that was a prelude to the revolution.

Respondent is greatly embarrassed when asked what he felt in general about the intellectuals, he thinks they are not a certain and separate class in society and organized, as they might of appeared, they were a large number of individuals.

The intellectuals stood up against the regime because their experiences showed to them that it was good in every respect, and because it became possible for them to say what they thought, or at least part of what they thought because the pressure eased. Any normal person, respondent says, must have seen the complete moral and intellectual and economical and political bankruptcy of the regime. As a matter of course, educated people, devoted to intellectual thoughts, must have formed that opinion.



## THE APPARATUS OF POWER

### A. The secret police:

Respondent considers the police are criminals, completely and utterly narrow-minded, rubber-stamp men and sadist...the scum of the earth. He had personal experience with the AVO on the occasion when he was arrested on Oct. 26, '56, about which experience he told us in the story of those dreadful days. He also had personal experience with the members of the AVO, who were assigned to check on the operation of the amplifying station, at which respondent was working.

Respondent never knew of any AVO member, who wanted to leave the AVO or who suffered remorse, etc.

He thinks that members of the AVH should be ~~publicly~~ tried in court, and that these trials should be open to the public.

To the question as to how the regular police compared with the AVH, respondent answers: "They had no control over political life, but they were under the control of the AVH. In 1953, when Imre Nagy took over, the power of the AVO was curtailed. From then on, Hungarian authorities were anxious to pretend that the AVH and the Blue Police were actually equal, which was only a farce as the Blue Police were completely under the direction of the AVH.

Respondent wants to make an additional statement to the question which he answered only partially before, namely: the question as to whether he had any personal experience with members of the AVH. This is what he has to add to his statement: "I prepared the teletypes of the Nyiregyhaza AVO, The prisoner camp at Tiszalok, and of the AVO border guard of Zahony, and of the border guard of Nyirbator. He experienced just about the same in every AVO station but particularly at the AVO of Nyiregyhaza. Upon entering, he met no one in the corridors and he found out that the members of the AVO had been officially alarmed that the visitors were coming. He was let in through a maze of bars and locks and let out the same way. He was called upon not to tell anyone what he saw at the AVO stations; particularly at the prisoner camp at Tiszalok. Once it happened that he called a wrong number which happened to be the Minister of Defense and the local AVO officials were there in a few minutes to investigate how he could hit upon the secret number of the Minister of Defense. Respondent adds that he saw at the AVO stations as well as at the amplifying station that any equipment of communications was locked up, sealed, and closely watched.

Respondent feels that he doesn't have enough information to judge the regular police as to its competency, but he regretfully remarks that the regular police carried out the government orders up to the revolution, and up to 1953 was pretty arrogant; from then on, much less arrogant. Respondent doesn't think there was much corruption within the regular police.

During the revolution, the regular police gave arms to the Freedom Fighters in a great many places. In some places, the entire body of police went over to the fighters, respondent understands, like in Nyiregyhaza, where the AVO fled and except for a major, the police stayed and helped set up civilian guards and participated with them.

B. The courts:

Respondent has no information to report on the courts before 1945.

Respondent didn't know much about the people's courts in 1945-47. He wasn't interested in them at all, but he heard people say there were trials of torture conducted by People's courts, but he is not sure that his information is true or false. The Rajk was rehabilitated respondent learned that it had been "ajk who had been responsible for organizing the secret police as well as the People's courts. At least it was "ajk who started organizing them. After it happened the Rajk was tortured by the same men of the AVH for whom he created that hideous organization. Respondent also heard the Rajk was tortured as much as any other prisoner accused of heavy crimes, and perhaps even more severely.

Respondent doesn't know how the "war criminals" were handled. He said that without any doubt there were Hungarians who sold their country down the river to the Germans. These particularly were people with a strong German background. Respondent thinks the real traitors should be tried and such people were the real traitors.

C. The Hungarian Army: Asked about the role of the army in the revolution, respondent said that the entire army sided with the fight for freedom. The sided with it, at least after one, two, or perhaps in some cases, three days of not knowing what was going on, and if they knew without appreciating it.

The Ministry of Defense had a very strongly Stalinistic -minded top leadership. The Stalinists tried to prevent the national, patriotically minded elements who were among them from actively participating in the revolution. A growing ~~confusion~~ confusion and anarchy pervaded the

many places ~~during the first few days~~ on the 3,4,5,6th, and first few days of November when they found out that many of the officers who had sided with the revolution now played the cards of the Kadar regime. There had been some confusion during the first few days of the revolution but later practically all military units went over to the side of the revolutionists - with or without, their officers.

Many units sent their soldiers home in the first few days. Respondent had a personal experience that soldiers in Kecskemet went revolutionary when the Russians attacked again, on and after Nov. the 4. Respondent saw those Kecskemet soldiers entrenched around the city so that they could defend it. Respondent had an experience in Debrecen that the soldiers volunteered to uphold public order and that they did it in an exemplary way. Respondent concludes his remarks with the assertion that in the few places where some clash occurred between Freedom Fighters and the military, many soldiers deserted their units and took sides with the revolutionists.

Respondent says that he had this information during the revolution. He doesn't think there were any patterns discernible as to how members of one social class and others of the other social class reacted to the same events.

If there were any differences whatsoever, they were between officers and enlisted men - particularly between field grade officers - upward from major. The field grade officers were hand-picked Communists. Very few among them sided with the revolution.

As to geographical differences, respondent much depended upon how close either to the western border or ~~to the western border~~ to Budapest, that person was. Speaking of differences, in general, respondent says that of course most depended on the leaders, or those who became leaders during the revolution.

When asked if surprised by the army's action during the revolution, he gives this information: "When I was a soldier, I told my superiors that the Soviet Union could not count on the Hungarian soldiers. At that time, I didn't think, nor before the revolution that so many soldiers would stand up in bold action against their own officers."



Speaking of the everyday life of the army in general, respondent explains that while he had been a soldier - soldiering was not in any way a permissive way - there was nothing else but actual drilling and training and indoctrination, all geared to make the soldiers first class Communist citizens.

Respondent explains that attitudes of soldiers toward officers and NCOs was varied.

During his army experience, most officers thoroughly hated. The more intelligent and the more liberal ones much less and there were exceptions of course, who were liked. Respondent here uses a comparison which was often used by his associates: "In times gone by the Hungarian Army Officers of the Horthy regime looked down upon their soldiers, most of whom were much less educated than they were. Now, however, they - the officers are less educated than most of the soldiers, and their soldiers look down upon them."

By social class most officers and enlisted men are of the peasant and worker class. The Communists were always very anxious to prove that their leaders come from those classes. Of these people, mainly characters who hated to work and liked to boss, were many. Other people who liked to give people hell, were the ones who ~~became~~ became NCOs and officers. Some of them were particularly vicious people, and the only way the soldiers found was to tell them: "Now you are yourself!"

The majority of the officers were Communists but the ambitious ones among them were hated by their fellow officers.

Speaking of their relations to the enlisted men, respondent says that there were very great individual differences, but the general picture was characterized by the fact that since poorly <sup>educated</sup> officers faced better <sup>educated</sup> soldiers, they were anxious to compensate for their lack of education by playing up their ranks. Respondent tells a hardly believable story which this interviewer believes only because he has known the respondent for four months and pretty well. This story is about a near mutiny. On one day, at his barracks, in Kiskunlachaza, (about forty miles from Budapest).

Respondent could not compare officer and enlisted men relationships

of before the war with those of the Communist phase, because of lack of knowledge, and the same is true about changes during the revolution.

As to competency of the officers and NCOs, respondent says that technically they were well trained, so as far as soldiering and fighting goes, they were all first class.

Of good and bad officers, he says that there were certain such, and it depended very much upon what kind of a guy one, or the other, was.

Respondent never saw any discrimination in handling soldiers, but at the same time, he emphasises that there might have been discrimination.

Speaking of political indoctrination within the army, he explains, that such indoctrination amounted to purification of the regime and of the Soviet Union.

This is how respondent describes the attitude of his associates in the army; "Many of us were completely disinterested in politics. Others were interested but bored by what was given us. Others again, who participated gave their opinion quite freely. There were no apple-polishers in our unit, which means that there opinions were very critical."

As to opposition behaviour, respondent says: "Of course, there was a lot of opposition behaviour. Take the basic fact in political classes where we had to take notes and most of us refused to. We ought to have learned every statement, and ought to have recited the very thing enthusiastically, and nothing of that ever took place."

#### D. Russian troops:

When asked whether the Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events stemming from 1848, he becomes irate and indignant. "Our boys didn't destroy Russian tanks because the Russians had been in Hungary a century ago but because they were there, right then!" Respondent admits that if in 1945, no Russians had come in there would have been some ill-feeling against the Russians because of their role in 1848 and in the first World War, and mainly of the Soviet system of the people had heard a great deal, and above all, because of the treatment

allotted Hungarian POWs in Soviet Russia during World War II. But nothing would ~~xxxx~~ compared with the impression the Russians made on Hungarians by what they committed in 1945 in Hungary itself.

Respondent explains about expectations that many workers expected a betterment of their lot. German occupation and Nazi-ism were hated and something better was expected, especially by the most down-trodden.

Respondent's most personal experiences with the Russian Army in 1945 were tragic. He personally saw a number of Russians literally drowned in wine. He saw Russians who had climbed into huge barrels to drink wine and became intoxicated and drowned in it. Others drowned just in the wine cellar just because they opened the barrels and became intoxicated and lay down in the wine which flooded the cellar. He experienced rapes committed by Russian soldiers. Summarily he says, "the Russian soldiers were trash. They were unbelievably primitive. Their standard in civilization was below imagination. Matches, clock, bicycles were wholly unknown to most of them."

Respondent's attitude, as well as that of others, he estimates, was that of contempt and hatred toward "Glorious Red Army". His contempt became more acute in the course of time, and he thinks the same is true about others. At the same time, however, a great pity developed in his feelings, and he thinks many people shared this pity - because they saw that the Russian people themselves were not of ill will, only utterly primitive.

Respondent had personal experiences with Russian troops because over a period of time, more than 100 lived in their house, and this interviewer refers at this point, to the report of respondent about the days of the revolution which gives a general picture of the occupation soldiers and that they were "no good". There were no relations between Hungarians and the occupation troops in Nyiregyhaza. There were no Russian troops stationed there. Respondent estimates that there were not many social contacts either, because once he was in a Russian barracks while he was in the Hungarian army, and he talked over to Russian soldiers, and he found that they were not permitted to leave the barracks. For instance,



he talked with one Russian soldier who acknowledged that he never got out of the barracks in three years.

Asked whether he had any contact with Russian soldiers or officers during the revolution, he says that the crew of one Russian tank which passed through Nyiregyhaza told them that they were going home, and he, as well as others, standing there, hugged the Russian soldiers and expressed great affection toward them the minute they left Hungary. Respondent refers to his report on the phase of the revolution.

He thinks that the Russian troops which stayed in Hungary didn't fight well, and he heard a great deal about that. For instance, he heard from a very good friend of his that this friend saw a Russian unit near Soroksar which camped in a field all during the revolution and didn't stir.

Respondent did not see, but heard of cases, in which Soviet soldiers helped Hungarians, and refused to obey their superiors and then deserted and fought on the side of the Hungarians in which they fought against the AVH, and fought against each other.

Asked about individual brutalities of the Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians, respondent says that he saw on Nov. 9, or 10, in the Szondi street in Budapest a senseless firing at civilians, and the kidnaping of two women.

E. The bureaucracy:

Respondent explains that he had no experience whatsoever with any part of bureaucracy, so he couldn't answer any of the questions referring to it.

F. Bribes:

Respondent explains the same as stated in the paragraph above.

G. Competence of officials:

Respondent found that the secret police were ingenious in inventing and carrying out ~~many~~ measures securing secrecy. He found them very circumspect in posting their people in every spot which can be considered sensitive in the machinery of state.

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Respondent feels that army leadership had very good technical knowledge in its own field.

He had no experience with bureaucracy, so he couldn't judge their efficiency.

ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next few years:

Interviewer is asked to put answers to the question as to the future of Hungary down, verbatim, if possible. Here is the result:

"If I could tell what's going to happen, I could also say that would be the next Pope."

When respondent is requested to try to estimate what would happen in Hungary, he finally answers: "Every phase of life will be taken over, more than before, by the AVO".

About the West, he had this to say: "The West will meditate what it ought to have done in the past."

About Russian policy in the future, respondent estimates that open terror will be exercised in the worst form: "Since whatever the Russians do, nothing happens in the Western World to prevent them from doing it. Great Hungarians fought for a constitution similar to that of the US, and still found a great reluctance to do anything for them. If we compare with that what protests were made throughout the Communist world and everywhere where communists are when the Rosenberg couple were to be executed, the comparison would leave the free world ~~stunned~~ in shame."

When asked about a Poland-type solution, he says: "Hungary passed that stage. If Gero had made conciliatory remarks in his history making speech on Oct. 23rd, compromises would have been the solution in the Hungarian crisis. Now, of course, everything is lost, and it's not impossible that people would have split ~~bitterly~~ even small concessions with bitter apathy."



Very resolutely, respondent explains that he is against all wars. he thinks it would be the greatest nonsense if he wished there to be war between the USSR and the United States. He asks: "WHY and HOW would a war come about?" He fears that were there a war, Russians whereye united, although now as things stand now Russians are greatly ~~divided~~ divided.

Respondent thinks that international pressure should be put on the USSR, short of war. He thinks we wait now for changes in the Soviet Union which might result in a revolution throwing over the communist regime. At the same time, he remarked that during the Hungarian revolution, the time was ripe for a revolution throughout the Soviet Orbit, and that Western help should have been given Hungary.

B. Hopes in ~~the~~ retrospect:

Respondent recalls that he had no expectations for the future during the last ten years at all. "I thought that the West wouldn't care at all, and I was proven right." he says, bitterly. "I saw no point for the West to save Hungary, although I was not aware how badly Hungary had been sold down the river at Yalta. Still it seemed to me that the West was too egotistic to ~~disregard~~ pay any attention to poor Hungary's plight." Respondent recalls that many people thought that the United States would liberate Hungary, and particularly the RFE was credited with holding out hope to people. Some people even thought that they heard RFE saying that next spring they forces of the West would ~~liberate~~ liberate Hungary. But respondent decided to leave Hungary and never believed rumours that Hungary would become free.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Independent Hungary:

Respondent explains that the system he would like to see in Hungary would be similar to Switzerland, or Austria, belonging to no one, and with democratic freedom for the people to decide what systems in economy and in any concrete detail they might desire.

B. Economic system:

When respondent is asked that an independent Hungary should emphasize agricultural, or industrial, he says: "Sure, well-trained economic leaders are the most important in Hungary and they should decide what and how.

Respondent answers the same way when asked which product should be emphasized particularly and which should be abandoned. Hungarian experts should decide it, he maintains.

National enterprises, he says, that mammoth enterprises would belong to the state but the fate of all others again should be decided by Hungarian experts.

As to kolkhozes and state farms, he says: "What the people decide, above all the peasants. He adds that he personally would be in favor of returning all small farms to private owners. Respondent thinks that the government should set a maximum limit to the amount of land a family may own.

Respondent laughs when he is asked which of two kinds of government would he prefer if he had only two choices: one securing freedom of the individual, and the other guaranteeing a living without the freedoms. How could we ask such a question, he says, when he has time after time risked his life to fight for freedom.

This is respondent's answer to the question whether or not he would be in favor of outlawing the Communist party in an independent Hungary: "If the communists manage to win two seats in a free election, that is, two seats in a Parliament, they deserve to have them. I, for one, think that the minute the Russians leave Hungary, the Communist party would go to pieces. I think so because last fall, they did leave, and the Communist Party did collapse.

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C. This is respondent's stand ~~about~~ the position he would ~~not~~ want Hungary to have IDEALLY.

" Hungary first must have independence and must become neutral, and its only then the Hungarian people can investigate whether they want to go into a larger unite - for instance a Danubian, or a United States of Europe. At any rate, such things cannot be determined in advance, or at least, not by me."

Respondent smiles how we could ask him whether he heard of the idea of Danubian States before. He says of course it was ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Louis Kossuth's idea and he read about it even in the school text-books. Respondent emphasises that such or any other federation could not be brought about by force. He says: "It should ripen in people's mind".

Respondent ~~advances~~ suggests that all states who desire should be included and be part of it.

Respondent thinks that it is primary concern of the Hungarian people to have their independence and neutrality and its only then that they would consider any larger unit to whom to belong.

Respondent does not find Hungary's present boundaries acceptable. He wants to see territorial adjustments according to <sup>the principle of</sup> "self-determination of nations". He emphasises the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ prime importance of plebescites to decide what group of peoples wants to belong to Hungary, and what group to neighboring states.

Respondent is gravely concerned about the fate of Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary, particularly now, he adds. The whole question is utterly important to him, and he thinks that it is the central problem, second only to Communism.



## THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

### A. World events:

Respondent heard in the Spring about Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress. He heard from people who listened to American radio stations. Respondent himself wasn't interested. He expected nothing from the West, and he didn't pay any attention to anything until he saw action.

He heard much about Senator McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee. He heard in seminars, on the radio, and read of it in the Hungarian papers, and they all said that McCarthy was a dangerous fascist, and that he brought the development of Capitalism to a logical phase - the phase of Fascism. The Communists tried to make him ridiculous and through him, the entire American leadership.

When respondent is asked about the fall of Peron, he asks: "Guatemala? Which Country?" It seems to respondent that that time he knew details about the fall of Peron and it seems to him that he heard that Peron fell upon American influence, and that America wanted him to fall."

Respondent didn't know anything about Rakosi's private life. He knows only that he showed up sometimes with his aged wife, usually not more often to the general public than at the ballot boxes.

### B. Reading habits:

Respondent read all kinds of newspapers and he formed some realistic opinions, quite independent of what he found in Communist papers. He read magazines only which dealt with geography. His father read several magazines and he bought them after church every Sunday.

Respondent read books dealing mainly with history and geography. He was too young a boy to judge what was available for reading before and during the war. The same is true about changes.

During the last eight to ten years, in Hungary, respondent read fairly frequently the following newspapers: Szabad Nep ; NEPHALSEREG, SZAHAD, IFJUSAG, VOROS/ SOLYOM, LUDAS MATYI, TARTOS BEKESRT-NEPI DEMOKRACIAERT, IRODALMI UJSAG, HETFOI HIRLAP.

Respondent read carefully only foreign policy and sports.

He says his confidence was never born, so it never died. He had confidence only in the IRODALMI UJSAG, AND HETFOI HIRLAP. Respondent was particularly distrustful to domestic policies in the papers; as for foreign policy, he thinks he was able to read between the lines, and generally speaking, he remarks that lately he found some improvement in the press. For instance, Eisenhower's speech ~~speech~~ at Geneva was fairly well printed in the Hungarian papers.

Respondent didn't care to read statistics, and any detailed reports on anything.

Respondent takes a firm stand, as he faced with more questions concerning reading habits, and he bursts out: "Aoh, I saw well enough of things that happened and I didn't need any press report to learn the truth or the untruth!"

He never read any publications from the USSR or other satellites. He never read any publications from the West or European ones either, that stemmed from the West, except leaflets which we will come to later.

There were a number of illegal books in respondent's father's library and there were a number of books in his own library which - youth literature and history - were put into drawers and were not much afraid of being apprehended because of those possessions.

Respondent said he loaned and he borrowed books which fall into this category. Generally speaking, he thinks that proscribed books in people's possessions were acquired and not destroyed.

C. Word-of mouth: Respondent got most news about the Soviet Union from prisoners of war who had been in captivity there. He was very much interested in hearing detailed accounts of their's. He also heard rumours of American help forthcoming but he paid no attention to those rumours.

Respondent thinks that the detailed accounts that he received from POWs about the Soviet Union were very reliable, and they were strikingly unanimous. He couldn't judge much about rumors because he never considered them seriously, he says. He considered rumors which came from friends whose actions were okay as more reliable, and from those whose overall behaviour was beyond reproach. He didn't pass information on to others.

F. Stage and Movies: Respondent went very seldom to the legitimate theatres, but he went once or twice a month to the movies..... The two plays that respondent particularly liked were THERE ARE THREE OF THE GIRLS and TORCHLIGHT. This latter play was a play about Louis Kossuth. The two pictures respondent liked most were THE LADY OF THE CAMELLIAS and PEOPLE IN THESE SNOW-CAPPED MOUNTAINS.





In respondent's opinion, the best standard of living is in Czechoslovakia and East Germany, and the worst in Romania and Bulgaria.

C. Poland:

Respondent's interpretation of Polish developments are these:  
"Since Poland is occupied by a formidable Russian occupation army, it has no real chance and no real change can be effected."

He thinks all Gomulka's gains are due to the Hungarian revolution, and that no other concessions which have been given to him ~~would have~~ had the Hungarians not revolted so heroically.

Respondent's idea of a future development in Poland is very pessimistic. He says that he expects the Poles to gradually lose what they gained from the Russians. "The Russians will eat them up except if they can revolt."

Respondent's opinion has not changed during the last five or six months.

He thinks the events in Poland, particularly the Poznan ~~riots~~ riots evoked interest, and the Hungarians hoped the riots would be successful. A great many of them prayed for the Poles. The common Hungarian people talked quite openly about the goings on in Poland, he says, and they wished them the best.

Respondent feels that any gain within the slave empire is hopefully and not enviously looked upon by their people within the framework of Soviet oppression.

Respondent did not pay any attention to Polish events until the revolution, because his mind was completely full of the grave happenings in his own town. He thinks most of the Hungarians were of the same mind in those days.

Respondent lacks information as to what measure of freedom existed in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power, and before the Poznan riots. He does not feel able to judge what people in Hungary generally knew about these.

Respondent and others got information through Communist press and radio, and through the radio stations of the free West which relay programs.

Respondent explains when he is asked whether he would have preferred that the Hungarian revolution take a path along the Polish lines, that the Polish line itself was made possible by the Hungarian revolution. Consequently, Hungary itself could never have followed the path of the Polish developments. The Poles took that course of action, respondent is deeply convinced, and wants us to bear in mind, because the Polish people feared that Hungary's tragedy will be their lot. Had they seen Hungary triumphant and victorious, they could have followed the same path as the Hungarians did.

D. Yugoslavia:

Respondent feels that "National Communism" is an invention of the West.

He is convinced that Tito is driven more by personal ambition than by anything else, and he thinks that Tito's relations with other east European nations depends completely what the situation in Moscow is. Tito's relations to Moscow is changing, and his relations with the West are changing, to say the least, respondent emphasizes.

Respondent's view of Tito's position vis-a-vis Hungary and the Hungarian revolution, is a very complicated matter. Tito challenged Russia and Khrushchev went apologizing to Tito and this was not appreciated in Hungary by the Communist leadership. During the Hungarian revolution, Tito seemed to condemn the USSR for its ruthless action. The Hungarians expected help from Tito, but at the last, he turned against them. When we wanted to go see Imre Nagy at the Yugoslav Embassy where he took refuge, we were not permitted to do so, by the Yugoslavs. The entire issue of Imre Nagy extradition by the Yugoslav Embassy was a highly puzzling matter."

Respondent declines to take a stand on Tito-ism in various satellite nations because of the lack of information. He takes a similar stand on Tito's popularity and his position in general in Yugoslavia.

E. Asia and the Middle-East:

Respondent thinks that the Communists gained control of China because the Chinese army has fought with Russia backing for decades, let alone with Russian weapons and ammunition.

Respondent thinks that perhaps communist China is more intimate with Moscow than any other Communist country, but he wouldn't give a definite appraisal.

Respondent claims lack of knowledge about the relations of ~~the~~



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XVI/ 60

Respondent claims lack of knowledge about the relations ~~and~~ between India and England.

When he is asked about his ideas of the invasion of the Suez Canal, he says: " ~~It was a very bad timing and it was not justified morally, and above all it had a very bad timing. If the timing had not been so disastrous it could be a matter of debate because it had some pros and not only some cons.~~ Respondent says that the Anglo-French invasion was not justified morally, and above all it had a very bad timing. If the timing had not been so disastrous it could be a matter of debate because it had some pros and not only some cons.

Respondent thinks that the Israeli invasion was an act of aggression although it was provoked.

Egypt had neither the right nor the moral justification of its nationalizing the canal.

When respondent is asked whether he feels that events in Egypt had any effect on the affairs in Hungary, during the autumn of 1956, he answers: "The fact that we have no country, is due to the Soviets above all, and secondly, it is due to England and France."

F. West Germany: Respondent heard that the living standard in West Germany was constantly rising. He heard that they have built up a very good foreign trade. It was an ~~important~~ general topic of conversation, respondent relates.

Respondent's own opinion is that West Germany is not far enough in its development to extend trade to East Germany.

Respondent doesn't think East Germany would want, or even could, start another war, and reiterates that it is not strong enough to extend help to East Germany in East German's struggle for independence.

Respondent heard of German military strength only from Soviet statistics, and he did not accept those, but he does think that West German's army is stronger than that of Britain. He doesn't know how it compares with the army of France.

He thinks the Russian occupation force was much more distasteful than the German one - he found the Germans much more disciplined as to both officers and enlisted men than the Russians, and he heard the same from other people.

Respondent smiles and says it is completely useless to ask which occupation force was most unpopular because the Germans were unpopular but the Russians were so much more. He thinks everyone feels the same, so perhaps this question isn't necessary at all.

G. Western Europe:

Asked about the British Labor Party, respondent says that he was very happy when he learned that the Labor leaders embarrassed Khrushchev in England. That was a major defeat for him, he explains.

Respondent's impressions of the living standards in various countries is expressed in the following: the highest living standard is in West Germany, he thinks, and the second highest, Great Britain, third Italy, fourth Greece and the worst in the USSR and in Egypt.

H. The United States:

When respondent was asked what he was most surprised at during his first months here, he says: "The way Americans received us. I was fascinated by the dimensions of New York. I was surprised seeing no fences around houses but to see fences around fields. I was painfully and bitterly surprised seeing that too small a number of scholarships were given away to Hungarian students and too low a number of immigrants were admitted. I think this is a major tragedy."

Respondent thinks that the US should do for the people in nations east of Europe in its own interest. He thinks it should apply pressure by all peaceful means upon the USSR and to achieve that the USSR leave Hungary for the type of free elections. Now, respondent explains, if the people of Hungary would want to belong to the Soviet orbit, the Red Army should go back, if the returns of the elections would indicate anything of that sort.

Respondent thinks the actual ~~prison~~ policy of the US is that America hide behind the UN and it is shameful and disastrous. He thinks the US should initiate action. As things stand now, it is gravely underestimating its significance.

The US should force the USSR to behave like an eastern government should, but at the same time he said, it is very hard for indecent people to behave like decent ones.

Respondent is somewhat annoyed when he is asked whether there have been any changes in his attitude on what he might suggest they should do, since he came to this country. He says the things he just enumerated are so obvious that any fool could see that any other road would lead to disaster.

Respondent suggests that such pressure should be exercised by the American government upon the Hungarian government that it should have the very least embarrassing effects, and at the very best, it should force the Hungarian government to ease, if not give up, terror.

Respondent cries out loud when he is asked whether the people in Hungary would like to see more of Western visitors. "As many as possible" he says, and the Hungarians should also be permitted to visit the West.

Respondent doesn't think it has any value as to what type of visitors should go to Hungary. As a matter of course, he says, all kinds of people should go ~~except Communists~~ to Hungary, including Communists because they could profit most of seeing oppression in practice.

He thinks nothing is needed to be told the visitors before they go. The only reminder or suggested given them should be that they should talk to all kinds of people, and that they should tell about their experiences after they return to this country.

He thinks that Hungarians would "of course" be interested in receiving reading material from the West, particularly people in large cities. So they should be sent to large cities above all.

Respondent thinks that people in Hungary would be interested in Hungarian exiles being associated with activities of Western visitors and publications, but that the Communists would not believe anyway that any such activities were carried out without the cooperation of exiles and they would tell the people, actually it would not make too much difference.

Respondent is so familiar with the essence of the Marshall plan that he gives a perfect definition - his attitude toward it is "it must have been good because the Russians cursed it."



Respondent does not wish to make a statement as to the motives ascribed to the US in launching the Marshall plan.

Respondent thinks that America became involved in the Korean war because it followed the statutes of the UN charter. The US fought under UN flag, respondent emphasises, and it had to do so because Korea was attacked by ruthless aggression.

J. The United Nations:

Respondent's general attitude toward the UN is a feeling of terrible disillusionment because the resolutions passed by the vast majority of the UN members have not yet been carried out, and no serious attempts have been made at carrying them out at all."

Respondent thinks that the UN ought to have a mobilized police force even when Imre Nagy announced neutrality, and at least a token force should have been dispatched to Hungary.

Respondent says that he sees very little hope for UN action for Hungary in the foreseeable future although he admits the only hope remaining would be just that. Of course, he emphasises such action would have been incomparably ~~more~~ easier before, while the revolution was on, and was victorious. "The United Nations, automatically, annihilates itself if it lets resolutions be ignored by members," he remarks, quite bitterly. He thinks the effective action of the UN might have meant the solution for Hungary in the hours of decision. Its resolute action could mean it again, but this time, the UN would have to face much greater difficulties, he thinks.

KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. Respondent doesn't feel able to pick out any one Hungarian as the greatest.

B. Persons of importance:

A. Imre Nagy is a person with lots of merits but who is not a great enough statesman to have played that terrifically important role that was his lot in the Hungarian Revolution. He was too late in taking over leadership in the revolution, respondent thinks. At the same time, respondent emphasizes that Imre Nagy was the only Hungarian statesman in 1953 and ever since who dared to say that the regime was bankrupt. All of Imre Nagy's measures were intended to bring about wholesale changes.

B. Cardinal Mindszenty is a major figure in Hungarian public life, and that his significance cannot be overestimated. He should stay in Hungary, he thinks. In time, he hopes he will clarify some of the things he said in his last speech given over the radio.

C. Laszlo Rajk was a victim of Communism in every sense of the word.

D. Erno Gero is a rat, respondent maintains.

E. He thinks János Kadar is an unfortunate puppet.

2. Respondent says of President Eisenhower that his middle-east doctrine should have been applied to Hungary, that would have proved him a statesman great enough to lead the United States and the world.

Of Secretary-General Hammarskjöld, he says, that he expected him to come to Hungary and that had respondent been secretary-general of the UN, no doubt he would have gone to Hungary to see everything for himself and to help as much as a man in that position could. He feels that Hammarskjöld was guilty of a very important omission.

Respondent thinks Dulles is a smart statesman but that he is much too cautious.

Of Eden, he says, it was high time for him to resign.

Respondent is ready to offer an opinion on Truman from lack of knowledge

Respondent said that Mikoyan is the same kind of rat as the others.

Nehru should have adhered to the principles of his great predecessor and that he should cling to the West.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek he knows little about him other than knowing who he is but can't pass judgment.

When President Roosevelt is mention, respondent ~~asked~~ asked if he did know what he was doing as that would be the only excuse for what he committed. He adds that Roosevelt was hated in Hungary because of his making a deal with Stalin. Yalta Conference is the disgrace of the world.

Ferenc Nagy would have to be judged later when more information is available, says respondent, about his dealing with the Russians. One thing is sure he says that Ferenc Nagy is not popular in Hungary at all.

Respondent says that Chancellor Adenauer is smart and courageous.

Of Stalin, he says, that he was great in terror but that he had very limited mental capacities and said nothing new.

Malenkov was ~~either~~ well-educated and he was either out of mind or of dirt.

Respondent doesn't know enough of Generalissimo Franco to size him up.

The same is true about Bevan. He doesn't even know who he is.

Of Khrushchev, he says, that he is unscrupulous, and he is a shrewd fox. Respondent recalls that his father said of Khrushchev that fellow seems to say: "Let's look around and do away with the world before they do away with us! Stalin has never taken the opportunity to do something, before they dispose of him!"

Tito is a shrewd turn-coat, respondent holds.

Respondent knows nothing of Peron.

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Of Molotov, he says, that he is a talented and well-trained political scoundrel.

Respondent doesn't know of Ollenhauer.

Of Churchill, he says: "In a word or two, he should have pushed his plan for opening a second front on the Balkan Peninsula".



A. Characterization of escapees:

Respondents views of the escapees are the following: "Whoever saw that there was no hope, and whoever feared retaliation, and whoever expected a worse political oppression than before, and whoever of these categories managed to flee, headed for freedom. Most of them had the attitude which could be expressed in the following words: 'We should do whatever is possible to work for a better future of our people'. Many of them didn't manage to get to freedom."

Respondent said he had a very hard choice, a very difficult decision to make when he made up his mind to flee, because he had never wanted to abandon people in trouble. His feeling was that he was abandoning his friend who looked forward to greater difficulties than ever before.

Respondent thinks that mainly people stayed behind who had frail, old people, or very little children, to take care of.

Asked ~~xxxxxx~~ what, in his opinion, people in Hungary think about those who left, respondent quotes an example "That while the general strike was on, such bus drivers and railroad men worked to carry people to the western boundaries of Hungary. The general opinion, he maintained, was that youth should leave to learn - to come back very well trained. They ought to see and learn, people thought. Respondent says, assuming they have a chance to come to the West, not more than 10,-25% people would stay in Hungary. There would be the Communists who fear punishment of great disadvantages for what they supported. Others would stay behind to help the helpless.

B. Exile organizations and individuals :

Generally speaking, respondent didn't hear of exile organizations in Hungary, only he knew there were exiles but he didn't know of their political programs. He knew there were good Hungarians who had flown to the West, and he knew, also, that a great many of them had difficulties in making a living, and particularly to achieve a serious advance in life. Generally speaking, he thought highly of the common people and not too much of the politicians who continued political bickering outside of Hungary.

Ferenc Nagy: Respondent knows that he was the head of the Communist Party and won a handsome landslide victory in 1945, and afterwards he was the Premier of Hungary. He knows that Nagy vanished from Hungary and he claims lack of sufficient information to know the person, or the motives.

Respondent knows of Charles Peyer that he was an honest Socialist leader. He says that Communists considered him a traitor of labor. Respondent thinks that he did good work in electing him to help the laboring class.

Respondent knows of Nicholas Kallay. He is a true friend of the free West; he was a skillful statesman, and he regrets that he was not successful in international bickering, which was the only way for an Hungarian statesman during the second World War.

Zoltan Pfeiffer he says founded some non-communist party, and he figured in the 1947 elections, and that he was very vocal.

Respondent knows of Barankovics, just as he did of Pfeiffer.

When Otto of Hapsburg is mentioned, respondent bursts out in loud laughter. He says that Otto is alledgedly a throne-pretender; he says he would like to talk to him and would like to tell him off - particularly concerning his advisor.

Speaking of Admiral Horthy, respondent says that he was called a "Fascist" but he doesn't think the word really applies to him, but Horthy doesn't see clearly enough. Anyway, respondent says, if Horthy had been such a great statesman as his followers claim, the country would have been in better shape. Respondent thinks that Horthy did very much against Communists, and quite successfully, but not much against eliminating the causes - the outlets of Communism. Respondent explains that under Horthy's regime there was a Socialism; he did not know what Democracy was like, and didn't even think of giving insurance to service men who died in a war against Soviet conquest, in which Hungary participated in various reason - first of all because it was overrun by the Germans who forced them to take part; secondly, because it was willing to help Hungary from Soviet conquest.

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XVIII/ 68

Respondent wants to convince the Americans, that although they couldn't save Hungary from their bondage in their hour of time, they should at least help the heroes who fled.

Respondent is eager to do the same personally as related above.

He is a member of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

Respondent says that the Hungarian Freedom Fighters for the Nation should unite with those Hungarian organizations which identify themselves with the aims of the nation which were manifested in their fight for freedom. It should make the Western world familiar with Hungarian aspirations and problems with the rule of the Hungarian nation in the world. Last, but not least, with the culture in general, and mainly, it should convince the Western world that Hungarians would like to know more of freedom than the nice words they get in form of radio messages in the broadcasts of RFE and VOA. The Hungarian Freedom Fighter's ASSN should become "Hungarian Freedom ASSN" respondent says, and it should become the comprehensive organization on representation of Hungarian's so that it can represent more weight in speaking for the Hungarians, in general, and in speaking for the exiles. If there is not such a strong organization, respondent fears that extremists political arguments could influence the mass of the emigrants.

Respondent thinks that all people, regardless of when they became exiles, should become members of the HFFF, if they identify themselves with its program. When respondent has to think of his feelings about the various political parties before 1948, he explains that he didn't think much of them. None of those political parties was able to stand about the storm because they had no support from the free world.

28

When the question is extended to ~~political~~ parties in exile, respondent says: "Are there such?" and then he explains that he knows only of party leaders, of no parties. These party leaders don't want to amalgamate with the exile leaders of the revolution. "It's my feeling that they don't want to draw the necessary conclusions as to what happened in the Revolution, and cling to their leading positions."



When respondent is asked whether the people who left Hungary before 1956 tried to accomplish anything for Hungary, or whether did not, he claims lack of knowledge, but volunteers that it looks to him as if they didn't do enough. Particularly because the Hungarian revolution came as a great surprise to the West.

When respondent is asked what he thinks the exiles ought to have done he says: "Monsieur Varga should not have said that he made the revolution, and he should have ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ received the new leading ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ exiles with the calm attitude of "you're the real ones!"

Respondent says that he is very unhappy to conclude that it is personal interests of exile politicians which prevent them from doing the right thing.

As to exiles during the revolution, he says, that until he came here he didn't know about exile leaders and certainly not enough to meditate as to what they are to do. In fact, there was no time to meditate at all. He said because tasks were so numerous that one had not one moment free in one's mind.

#### C. Redefectors:

Respondent met some people who escaped to the West in 1945 and returned to Hungary later on. They belonged to the most unhappy people, he claims. They returned because they had hoped that normal life would return to Hungary and believed that the democratic regime of Hungary, which was in power until 1948 would secure freedom and progress, not only for them but for the people of Hungary. Above all, respondent says, they believed in the West. The West wouldn't let Hungary down to become an hopeless victim of Soviet Communism. All these people were labeled, "Westerners". This was a label which proved very detrimental to those people wherever they went in life. There being a "Westerner" was always held against them in unequivocal terms."

The Communists, because the presence of Hungarian exiles in the free West was very embarrassing ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to the Communists, they put out a program out on the air which was entitled: "Our Fatherland has a message". They tried to lure the people at home, taking unfair advantage of their natural homesickness. Communists are masters of bold propaganda, respondent explains, and they preyed on the love of the nation, of their country, of Hungarians.

People thought that this propoganda belonged to the dirtiest tricks of Communism and they thought that our people who returned were silly. Many people complained, respondent recalls, that their relatives were exiles in some free country and didn't believe them, and didn't believe how bad the terror in Hungary was, and returned in spite of their warnings.

L. Exile Tasks:

Respondents think that people in Hungary are interested above all in a life for their loved ones - the lot of their loved ones - and of their acquaintances. Generally speaking, however, they would like to see the West giving them a chance to have a good life in their own fields and people in the West should know that they should have helped them, and that they will help them in, if there is one, another revolution.

When respondent is asked whether there is anything he thinks the ~~exiles should know~~ people in Hungary should know, he answers: "People in Hungary should know that the recent exiles who have the freedom goes, are anxious to do much for the Hungarian cause, but ~~some~~ the older exile leaders prevent them from taking positions of great significance in which they could do much". Respondent explains that there are persons within the Hungarian National Council who are so selfish, and so jealous, as to lie rather than to come to a unifying agreement between the old Hungarian National Council and the Revolutionary Council - also called, National Representation \*-.

Respondent says when we come to speak of what the exiles should now do, that the mass of the exiles should be admitted into American life, and the students should learn an awful lot to become better citizens of either the USA or Hungary. They should be aware of the fact that Hungary needs a great many well trained statesmen and industrial leaders, etc. Here, in the United States they may learn as much as anyone anywhere. He says, that under the Italian regime, people didn't have a free chance to learn ? to learn freely. "Little Hungary has never had such a chance, - to gain by superior knowledge. This is not only true for students for true experts in every field, mechanics, locksmiths, farmers, and everybody."

Respondent also explains that exiles should make known the truth about Hungary to American leaders and the American people in general. They should try to explain that all captive countries expect America to help them because it is only force that holds them down and they want to become free. If people behind the iron curtain see Hungary abandoned, they lose all hope and faith in the United States, and the United States will lose face. This should be explained by the exiles to the Americans.

When respondent is asked what he knows about the revived parties, he says of course he knows of them. There were such in Nyiregyhaza, too.

When questioning his attitude he said that he couldn't form an opinion as time was too short. "I'm for a multi-party system but I was ~~happy~~ not happy about too much party politics immediately after the successful revolution, but I could understand that after 18 years of oppression the artists exploded."

to the question re: the groups that went into exile previously should have returned to Hungary to participate in the revived parties, respondent answers the following: "It's party members who should decide. The Hungarian people are mature enough to select their leaders and to decide about how they should lead."

E. Respondent's plans for the future:

Respondent answers that of course he intends to return to Hungary if Russian occupation, and consequently, communist rule should be over. He adds even under communist domination because he would like to help it go under the axe.

Respondent's opinion on his children speaking Hungarian is affirmative.



AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio:

Respondent listened to the BBC, VOA, RFE, to the French radio, to the Turkish radio and to the Novisad Roumanian radio. He says that the best reception was the Novisad. Then he explains that all are, at least most, broadcast at different length waves and there was jamming at every wave length, so if one found the wave length at which jamming was not going on, he could listen to the broadcast very well. He also explains that this was the secret of the AVO, because they needed always a wave length to which they also could listen. This is why they didn't jam all of them.

As far as jamming went, most wave lengths had no difference in jamming.  
speaking

Respondent listened mostly to Hungarian radio broadcasts. He listened quite irregularly and not more than once or twice a month. He listened mostly to the VOA, at least, more frequently than to others.

Respondent didn't tell others what he heard except his own family, sometimes. He listened with his father to his own radio, or to the radio with others. His father listened systematically every day.

Sometimes friends and acquaintances assembled in their home and listened with great devotion to the broadcasts of Western stations. This happened quite often.

Respondent also heard second-hand news stemming from broadcasts, but he didn't care to listen to them. He saw no point in paying attention to such broadcasts. He used to think: "They have it easy in the West to give us advice. They should come here!". Other people, he recalls, gave much credit to foreign stations. He goes on with great sadness in his voice: "Unfortunately I was right..the Western radio stations don't do more than talk, talk. It's alright for radio stations, but Western governments don't do much more either."

When respondent is asked whether there is any risk involved in listening to these broadcasts, he answers: "There was danger particularly in talking about these broadcasts constituted foundation for serious charges in court. Many people vanished, and others wondered, who the next would be" Respondent thinks this deterred people from talking in the open. They talked only in confidence, but he doesn't think it deterred them from listening.

There were changes respondent recalls following the great changes in 1953 which were due to Imre Nagy's program, and there were even more changes after the 20th Party Congress. These changes refers to the many relaxations in the control over the listening habits of people.

When asking respondent what his reaction was he said: "I thought very little of them, of the few I listen to. They don't solve problems. They are not realistic at all. They amount to not much more than encouraging and animated speeches. They cannot effect any changes. I say this that are of very little value."

Respondent preferred BBC over all other stations because of its outstanding objectivity. BBC reported objective news even concerning the Middle-east. They gave accounts of the mistakes of the West. They didn't make any cheap comments as RFE, respondent compares. Respondent also liked Novisad radio broadcasts because they gave good music.

Speaking of the accuracy of news, respondent again emphasizes that BBC presented news without cheap commentaries. RFE didn't even have the straight news from well-informed sources. Take, for instance, the allegation that Imre Nagy called in the Russians. Its commentaries were very much off base. Respondent said he had a good listening post at the amplifying station and had his ears open to the entire country, and he had a very good opportunity for checking points as to how reliable reports were.

Speaking of the effects of Western broadcasts, respondent says it depended upon people, but he estimates that the majority of humble people lived too primitively and even too optimistically to have conclusions. He charges, particularly, the RFE program: "God's mills grind slowly but surely". The listeners to these programs made many mistakes in jumping to conclusions. Even such conclusions were drawn, respondent says: "They'll come in the Spring." Intelligent people expressed several ways in regard to RFE, or VOA broadcasts "I heard it over the RFE as far as that can be taken seriously, the news is this...".

Respondent says that he is very much afraid that the RFE had a role during the revolution. "I heard many people say: Hold out for only three more days, and Western help will come". Radio Free Europe, respondent charges, wasn't fully mature and responsible in its attitude when making announcements during the revolution. For instance, he says: "When volunteers in Canada and Italy and Spain, etc. were announced over RFE, even I who didn't believe much that propaganda stuff, was elated. And what did it amount to? Nothing! -RFE should have known better and not indicate things which could not become reality!" Respondent says that after Nov. the 10th, it slowly became

clear that the West didn't intend to extend any help. This realization was slow to come because of the RFE enthusiastic broadcasts.

When asked about RFE's role in inciting the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help, respondent refers to his above statement and says that probably there were very few direct promises, but all indications. The revolutions didn't break up at the same time because of such encouragements, but the revolution simply last longer - resistance to Russian invasion after Nov. 4, lasted longer because people trusted the enthusiastic commentaries of RFE.

When he is asked whether RFE should continue to broadcast in Hungary, he meditates and is very uncertain. He says he actually doesn't know, and he has to consider that Hungary is shut off from the free world, and then he comes up with the conclusion that maybe common people need such broadcasts very much, but he couldn't decide.

When respondent is asked what programs in particular he thinks should be broadcast, his overall views are expressed the following way: "first of all, RFE should place itself on the ground of reality. Its main task should be to broadcast reliable, completely reliable, checked and re-checked straight news. Besides the political and social structure of the free world should be made intelligible to the Hungarian listeners, and the same is true about achievements in the Western world. Plays, forbidden in Hungary, should also be part of the central program. Scientific achievements of the free world, based on reliable reports would be listened to; also, the political structure of the US - the two-party system, and the role of the communist party should be made known through these broadcasts. The elections in the US and the structure of the legislature should be explained in well intelligible and simple terms. In brief, respondent says - the institutions which make the free world, free. There is one more thing, he adds, which is absolutely necessary - comparisons between the life of American, French Hungarian, etc. workers - showing how much one has to work for one pound of sugar - how much the other.

When respondent is asked point by point about the items in this paragraph, he says straight news should be given - the basic news - emphasized.

Respondent laughs when he's asked if anti-communistic propaganda should be broadcast. "That is completely unnecessary," he exclaims. The best



anti-communism is the raising of standards of living of free people. He thinks programs about life in Western Europe are good, as he already suggested. The same is true of programs about the life in the US.

When he is asked to offer suggestions about what else should be broadcasts, he asks the interviewer to put down the suggestion, and to emphasize it as much as interviewer can: "The realistic history of recent decades, particularly the time preceding and during the second World War. People in Hungary are not given the true facts the happenings of the last few decades, and Hungarians know too little about them. Those decades should be systematically taught because people hunger for the realistic reports concerning those decades."

B. RFE leaflets:

Respondent has this to say about RFE Leaflets: "I saw posters on walls and the posters carried a picture of German boats with the Swastika on them which stepped on small people and there was written NEM. Then I heard people say that this was a very clever propoganda of the N.E.M. I said that they talked nonsense. Later, I saw these posters torn off the walls and I have little doubt that they were torn off by the authorities as the fact proved that they were anti-communist in nature. And I have little doubt that they really originated with people who tried to make propoganda for the N.E.M and used this utterly clever trick to escape the attention of the Communists."

Respondent has not heard of the Twelve Demands.

C. Free Europe Leaflets:

Respondent saw Free Europe leaflets only once. This leaflet carried advise, statements and recommendations about the councils of cities and towns and the essence was that people shouldn't vote for them. Respondent thinks that it is foolish not to vote, even in Communist regime because there are very bad Communists and terribly bad Communists, so it is better to vote for the bad ones and not for the terribly bad ones - if there is any chance.

Respondent didn't care to listen if anyone talked about Free Europe Leaflets.



27-11  
HLR

XIX/ 77

When it comes to comparing various radio stations, respondent again comes up with the generous praise of BBC.



#### CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

These are the most important things a child should learn, according to respondent: "religious ethics - love of parents- independence and judgment (judiciousness)- an attitude to appraise everything very realistically."

In respondents' opinion, a child should be brought up by developing his self-reliance and self-esteem and exhorting and teaching self-discipline, and humility of heart. At the same time, respondent emphasizes that in case of need disciplining is also necessary, even through corporeal punishment.\*

Respondent maintains that the treatment should not be the same for boys and girls. Boys should be taught more by the father, and girls more by the mother. But it should not be a rigid rule.

As the child grows older, respondent suggests that there should be less punishment - less need, and ideally, no need at all for punishment. The child should be so mature as early as possible that he can be trusted to understand and take the right stand. "I never was held responsible for what I did from the age of 16" respondent explains. A child should be held responsible by the age of 16.

Asked about a case in which respondent himself was punished, he vividly recalls when a high school senior and he was slapped in the face. This is his story: "I had promised a date to go to a student dance party and ~~money~~ I asked father for money as was usual in our family. This time he refused to give me money. He wanted me to help him work in an extraordinary situation. I asked mother for money and crept out by the window. Father caught me and slapped me twice in the face without saying anything. I stayed at home that night, and life went on as usual, but the two silent slaps in the face he gave me and I couldn't feel sorry for myself, and I didn't criticize my father in my mind. I thought he was right. My father punished me only with good reason."

Speaking of who in the family usually punished children who were 6 years old, or older, respondent says the boys were perhaps punished more by the father, and the girls usually by either. Boys or girls were punished by the one of the parents who saw the misdeed. "Mothers often with the fathers of the children, but fathers seldom without the threats of the mother".

The mother usually punishes the small children as she is with them.

Asked about changes in this during the last ten years, respondent says that the significance of both parents became less - diminished. Parents had in a great many cases less time for rearing children than in previous years and decades, respondent explains.

Respondent says that punishment should be abandoned, he says that it is difficult to say. As for physical punishment, it is abandoned when boys get to be 14, or 15 years old, and girls 13, or 14 years.

Punishment in general should be abandoned: "When they become mature enough to become flawless in behaviour, they need no more punishments and naturally the habit of punishing ceases. In the last few years of growing up, only reproachment and admonishment played a major role. Rules are usually practiced until boys and girls are separated from their families."

Respondent doesn't think that the ways of rearing children vary such as far as social classes are concerned. They usually are different in various families.

It seems to respondent that communism didn't bring about any changes except perhaps that since parents were more nervous during the role of communism they punished some times more widely than before. Another change he adds was that 12-year old children often left their families, because they went to some dormitory. Discipline before communism was above all ~~just~~ admonishment and reproachments, spankings, and hitting knuckles and fin or nails with sticks and also slaps in the face. "But one unjust accusation hurt me, and I think most of us, in comparatively more than a real severe corporal punishment, if given for serious offense. I made these distinctions, and I think my classmates also did when they were only eight or nine years old."

Tricks of ~~discipline~~ discipline during the Communist regime were as follows: "As a rule there was no spanking during communism, but there were exceptions. There were many tricks the teachers played to keep us disciplined. Such were, for instance, asking questions about material we ought to have learned when we were absent, or a temporary cancelation of an announced program of entertainment, and asking questions to make one flunk the examination."

Respondent prefers characteristics in a friend are: "Straightforward attitude and sincerity."

Respondent says that friendship during communism became of even more serious nature than before, because friends had to be absolutely reliable, otherwise they could cause the other persons down-fall.