

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM UP QUESTION

Respondent thinks the most important things that Americans should know of the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956 are as follows:

"(1. The will of the entire Hungarian nation was unequivocally expressed in the Revolution. As proofs I may mention the following facts: - The police and the armed forces were ordered to fight the rebels, and there was only one case in which the police resisted, within its own building, the attacking rebels, who were seeking arms. But ~~within~~ half an hour, the police surrendered their arms

End disk IA

"In all other cases known to me, the police laid down their arms after the first appeal of the Freedom Fighters. There were many policemen who took off their uniforms, and fought as rebels.

received

"A lieutenant-colonel whose name I do not care to give, ~~was~~ orders on Oct. 27 from the Minister of National Defense Janza to capture the nest of resistance with his armored division. However, he did not carry out the orders. In the afternoon of the 27th, a high ~~rank~~ ranking officer of that armored division came to negotiate with us at the Corvin Koz. I showed him proofs of the efficiency of our fighting, and he congratulated us. He said: 'I am sorry I cannot take part in this great struggle for freedom. But persevere boys, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ persevere!' officers and

"There were soldiers (enlisted men) who deserted their units, changed to civilian clothes, and fought with the Freedom Fighters. I even saw a ~~few~~ few who were not able to obtain civilian clothes, and they threw away their military jackets, and fought in shirt sleeves. They were two such soldiers ~~xxxxx~~ from the Millian Barracks in my own unit.

"In the lamp factory of Soroksar, Russian rifles (52 model) were manufactured. After Gero's speech on the 23rd of October, I attacked that factory with some 25 men, which number later swelled to three times that many, and even more. We seized 600 Russian ~~xxxxx~~ model rifles and 1100 6-millimeter rifles. I believe these were the first/supply sizeable of arms for the revolution."

"The Russians, who were fighting from Oct. 23 to 29, were mostly Ukrainians and White Russians. They had been living for some time in Hungary, and another group of them in Rumania. These soldiers were quite reluctant to fight with the Hungarians. Several Russian soldiers who were captured said they had been sent from Rumania to the ~~xxxxxx~~ Hungarian army here,

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and they did not want to fight against such.

"Hungarians were eager to extend the hand of friendship to the Russian soldiers whenever these were willing to stop fighting against the Hungarians. Leaflets in Russian language, ~~was~~ asking the Russian soldiers to understand the fight for freedom, and not kill innocent people, were distributed by Hungarians."

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ACTIONS, AND EXPECTATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION

On a Oct. 27, respondent was engaged in constructing a tile stove in his home in Soroksar.

On Oct. 23rd, at 11 A.M. respondent heard loud speakers at the City Hall announce: "Piros, Minister of the Interior, ~~has~~ suspends freedom of assembly." Later, he heard this suspension revoked. He waited with much expectation to see what would happen, ~~meanwhile~~ meanwhile continuing work on the tile stove, aided by his brother.

"In the evening, another brother telephoned and said in great excitement that the people were ~~p~~ hauling down the statue of Stalin, and the rope broke due to the statute being so solidly and strongly built. Later, still another brother called them on the phone, reporting that he had been selected along with some other students to conduct negotiations with the government

"At 8 P.M. Erno Gero's speech came over the radio. When Gero had finished, respondent said: "We'll be needed!" Respondent and the brother helping him with the stove now prepared to leave for Budapest. Their mother pleaded with them to stay, saying that two sons to make sacrifices were enough, the one who was pulling down the ~~statue~~ statue of Stalin and the other who was one the delegation to negotiate with the government. However, respondent's brother replied:

"What would happen to this poor, little country if all Hungarian mothers acted like this?"

17-1

The mother replied to this

Remember that your father said before he died that I should not hold you back if anything happens because I just couldn't hold you back." And she let them go, with the request that they should watch over the younger brothers. (ones).

All of this takes on more importance since meanwhile they had received another call from the brother who was at Stalin's statue. He reported to them the AVG fired on the crowd, and that great things ~~was~~ about to happen.
were

Respondent ~~x~~ and his brother who had been helping him with the stove now went out into the street, and thumbed a ride on a truck, explaining why they wanted to go to Budapest. The drivers promptly said they would distribute their load ~~free~~ free of charge to the people who were rising against Communism. As the truck proceeded on the way, and arrived at the lamp factory in the town (Soroksar) three young men stopped the truck. One of them had a rifle on his shoulder. The young men explained who they were and what their mission was, and ~~s~~ greeted that arms would be needed, and they could find such at the ~~a~~ lamp factory.

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As they talked, some 20 persons assembled around them, and they discussed how they could get into the factory. After making their plans, and with the crowd which now numbered over 40 men, the group proceeded to the lamp factory. There, they found the plant guards armed with sub-machine guns, confronting them, while all the group had was the light rifle mentioned before.

"Shoot here! - Shoot at me! - Why don't you shoot your fellow Hungarians?!"

two

Such challenges were hurled at the guards with their guns. But the guards didn't shoot. They disappeared from the scene.

The group and crowd, numbering some 30 in all, now began to search the buildings of the lamp factory. Everyone was elated. "The factory is ours!" they joked. The search had started around 5 o'clock, and it was about 10.30 in the evening when they finally found the arms. By then more than a hundred people had assembled. While the cases of arms were being opened, trucks from the West kept arriving. It seemed that it was known that arms could be found at this plant.

When the basic need for arms was met, the respondent then took charge. He directed one truck to go to the Parliament Building in Budapest another to the Mories ~~Sz.~~ Zsigmond Square, and a third to the Szena Square. Respondent and his brother, Oxel, got into the truck heading for the Mories Zsigmond Square. There were some 30 or 35 people on the truck. At once, respondent heard quarreling going on, and the voice of a boy. This boy was about 12 years old. He said:

"I want to fight for my father's sake. He had been captured and tortured by AVO. He died. I'd rather die myself, but I want to fight."

An older boy took the heavy rifle from the boy, and gave him a light one instead, and respondent had to return the heavy rifle to the younger boy because he thought that anybody whose father had been killed by the AVO had plenty of reason to fight.

When the truck arrived at the Mories Zsigmond Square it was close to midnight. They sighted a car that belonged to the AVO and they started shooting at it, without success. The men in the car drove it away and were able to outdistance the truck. The chase was given up in a suburb where there was a large industrial plant. The group entered, seized the arms of the plant guards, and asked the working force there to volunteer who would join the fight for freedom in Budapest. The group returned to the ~~same~~ same square in Budapest, taking with them the arms of the plant guards.

the group

As the ~~gxx~~ their truck entered the square, ~~ixny~~/cited another AVO car, and ~~mxix~~ fired on it, destroying the car. The AVO men jumped out in time to escape, and the group sent the driver home. Later another AVO car was seen, and pursued. The driver, ~~xxxxxx~~ who was alone, stopped the car and surrendered it. ~~The license~~. The license plate was destroyed, so that the car could not be identified as having been an AVO one.

Sub-machine gun fire came from one of the cars, and mowed down some twenty people. Ten of these were dead. Fifteen to twenty people were wounded, in the unarmed crowd on the sidewalk. Now, the respondent decided to fight back, and not to cease fighting until victory was won over the Russian oppressors.

Respondent overheard soldiers talking at the entrance of the ~~Killian Barracks~~ Killian Barracks. When they saw these things happening. One soldier bid his companions go with him, and minutes later, respondent saw these soldiers on the roof of the ~~Killian Barracks~~ Killian Barracks, with a sub-machine gun. He also saw a young man in a window of a building in the neighborhood, mount a machine gun there, about which a number of other young men gathered.

In about five or ten minutes, eight or ten tanks, and some eight armored cars drove by. The rear armored car was somewhat behind the train of cars. Just then, respondent heard a volley of bullets being fired, and saw they were coming from the machine gun in the window and being directed towards the rear armored car. The bullets tore into the tires of the car. Meanwhile, the tanks and the other armored cars, continued on their way, apparently not hearing or noticing the shooting. The Russian crew of the armored car began to shoot point-blank into the crowd. At the same time, Hungarian soldiers opened fire from windows of the barracks. The crowd ran into doorways and other safe places, also hiding behind trees and nearby buildings. The machine gun in the window now was fired at the Russian tank crew, and killed both these men. A great cheer went up from the crowd. One young boy with a vinegar bottle ran up and tossed ~~it~~ it against the armored car. It broke and gasoline poured out from it, while the boy ~~scampered~~ scampered back behind a tree. An old, ragged bearded man, with matches in his hands, walked briskly to the armored car, and lighted up the gasoline ~~splashed~~ splashed it over it, and unbelievable as it sounds, the old man managed to walk back to safety ~~because~~ The Russians who were still alive, were hiding nearby. The crowd cheered, and shouted: "Long live Hungarian freedom!"

(burning)
Now, other bottles were hurled at the armored car from windows. One Russian jumped out of the car, and lay dead. Another met the same fate, as he tried to escape the flames. By then, all the Russian armored car crew had been killed. The car was burning, but some people running up ~~fast~~ quickly, were able to dismantle a machine gun and take it out, with some ammunition found there, before the flames could stop them. The crowd now rushed from its hiding places, and cheered all the heroes.

Respondent expected retaliation from the Russians, so he told people, "Let's organize a resistance here! You people who have gasoline bottles with you, give it to those who will volunteer to keep on fighting, and we will distribute them, some to the barracks, and others to nearby houses. Above all, we should fortify the corners!"

After thirty or forty minutes, one of the Russian tanks came back. As it arrived on the scene, the machine gun in the window opened fire on it, and managed to ~~xxxx~~ tear open one of its treads~~xxxx~~. Now the tank could not proceed. Gasoline bottles were hurled at the tank, and sparks from the machine gun bullets being fired at the tank, ignited the gasoline. The tank was soon in flames.

Now, a second tank appeared, its hatchet[?] top was opened by the crew. That moment it was shot at from all directions, and ~~again~~ gasoline bottles were hurled at it. The tank sped away as fast as it could. Meanwhile, the first tank was burning so fast, that the flames must have reached the ammunition, for explosions were heard, and the tank fell in pieces. The crowd rushed to the scene, cheering.

A.M.

At 10 ~~xxx~~ a Russian truck appeared, and was met with a volley of gasoline bottles, and the gasoline was ignited. The driver was shot. People ran to the truck and unloaded ammunition. Rockets were found which started to go off, but no one was hurt.

In the afternoon, respondent thought that the resistance should be organized in a systematic way. He found a gasoline station behind the Corvin Theatre, and he saw that the School of the Prater Utca was closed, and ~~it~~ had a cafeteria that could feed hundreds of people. A ~~sla~~ slaughter house was not far away. Respondent decided the Corvin Theatre was the right place for organizing the resistance.

In the evening an armored car drove by, with an anti-tank gun mounted on it. Gasoline bottles again were hurled, and again the fight to defeat the crew was successful. All the men~~ere~~ shot. The anti-tank gun was dismantled, and more ammunition was captured. Respondent ordered the gun set up in front of the Corvin Theatre.

Respondent decided to go home, as darkness fell, and he returned to Soroksar, and explained to his mother what had been done. He found two of his brothers at home, who had been ~~in~~ in other towns. A family discussion was held, and it was decided~~ix~~ that respondent and one of the brothers would go to the Corvin Theatre to set up the defense. Two other brothers would go to the Bocardo Square; one, the youngest would stay with the mother; and one, who was married and had two children, would go to his family. These plans were immediately carried out.

Respondent first went to the K Barracks. He spoke for about forty minutes to the soldiers who were assembled there in the yard. He referred to Communism as the worst type of state capitalism, and the soldiers ~~agreed~~ agreed with him on every point of his speech, and they promised to side with the Revolution.

Respondent now returned to the Corvin Theatre and organized further steps in the Resistance, ~~which~~ which had been started earlier that afternoon. He saw the commander, listened to ~~what~~ what had been done, and was assigned by the commander to head a group of ten men to be called Squad No. 6. They were given gasoline bottles, ammunition, and food. The group stationed itself in one of the nearby houses, ~~on~~ on the third floor. A night watch was organized. The noted that two light machine guns and crews were in the neighborhood, both against the revolution. The squad was not able to destroy one of these guns, because it ~~was~~ was too well protected, but they were successful in destroying the other one.

In the morning of the 25th, Russian tanks came, and were fired on from neighboring buildings and from other positions. Gasoline bottles were thrown at them, but the gasoline did not catch fire. The tanks left unharmed.

As respondent and his squad were adding to their stock of bottles, he hit upon the idea of stopping the opening of each bottle with rags, which could be lighted before the bottles were thrown.

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They perfected the method until they had ~~tkxxxxxxx~~ a well working quantity of cocktails.

when

It was about noon, ~~and~~ Russian tanks came and fired on their building and destroyed much of the front ~~xxxx~~ or facade of it. Later, the group learned that they had been informed on by an AVG man who had worked with them in preparing their defense. Afterwards, two more battles with tanks took place, brief ones, and they were able to destroy one of the tanks.

Later in the day, the respondent visited Dr. Imre ~~Kxxx~~ Mecs, who was a friend of a doctor who resided in their building and took care of their wounded. Respondent carried some food to Dr. Mecs, and found there his brother, ~~Peter~~ Laszlo Mecs, a famous poet, who talked to the respondent and blessed his efforts.

Laszlo

(Laszlo Mecs is a Catholic priest.)

The Corvin Barracks group suffered the first casualties, the 25th, but they perfected their techniques and their tricks against the Russian tanks, enriched by their experiences of the past two days. Since the shelling of the facade of the building in which they were housed, and where they had their firing positions, destroyed a great deal of the ~~and~~ facade, respondent went with 1/4 of his men to the center of the Corvin Koz to find a new position.

As respondent arrived at the center, he saw a good location then and there. He noted that the anti-tank gun, which they had captured the day before, was in a very exposed position. So he hastened to improve the situation by placing one gun ~~xxx~~ crew man in a safe observation post, and another in a hidden spot from whence he could fire the gun by pulling on a rope connecting him with the gun's firing mechanism. In an hour, the crew ~~xx~~ organized in this manner, put one enemy tank out of action, and then the respondent and his brother destroyed the tank with gasoline bottle fires. This operation and its clever organization created a very good reputation for the respondent among the Corvin Koz ~~xxx~~ fighters, and hence ~~it~~ he stayed in the center and took over more and more of the organization. Within a few hours, he assumed ~~leadership~~ leadership of the entire operation. A slogan was adopted by the fighters, "We'll die, but we'll pay for it very dearly!"

October 26 proved the most difficult day of the Revolution. P Malster was at the ~~xx~~ Killian Barracks and he ordered arms taken away from all civilians. It happened that 30 Freedom Fighters, whom respondent had sent to the ~~xx~~ Killian Barracks to take up positions there were sent back by Malster with their arms taken from there. Malster ~~explained~~ explained that soldiers could fight at the ~~Gx~~ Killian Barracks, but no civilians.

Later, respondent received reports that the Corvin Koz was attacked by the crew (guards?) of the ~~Gx~~ Killian Barracks. Respondent didn't believe it. He then ordered the fire be returned. The fight raged on, and the fighters managed to capture three or four anti-tank guns, and ~~respondent~~ respondent directed two of these, in good working condition, be set up in positions to defend their block. That day, they destroyed six or seven tanks.

In every ~~xxxxxx~~ lull of the firing, respondent organized distribution of gasoline bottles, ammunition, and food supply, and he checked on order and discipline. The morale was excellent, respondent recalls. It happened he caught a boy stealing a pair of shoes. He took away the shoes and the boy's rifle, and degraded him from a fighter to a gasoline bottle filler. He explained to this boy and to his comrades that if they are interested in new shoes or other ~~needs~~ merchandise, they make two mistakes -- first, they take away somebody else's property, and secondly, their attention is diverted from defending their country and freedom to seizing things. He directed the boys in that group to vote who should get the shoes, and these were granted to a boy ~~in the group~~ whose shoes were almost falling apart.

In one clash, they captured a Russian armored car, shot the Russians who were in it, and then the respondent thought he could organize a Commando to free prisoners. ~~political~~ One of the boys volunteered to take part in the party because his father was in that jail, and another boy had an uncle there; and a third one whose parents were ~~both~~ in these jails. Respondent gave two light machine guns to the crew this Commando, and eight or ten volunteers, among them some who knew the jail building, went with the armored car to try to overpower the prison guards and they succeeded. But they found the political prisoners were together with the criminals, and so ~~xxxx~~ when the respondent was notified of this, he decided that ~~both~~ classes of prisoners should be released if there ~~is~~ no simple way to tell them apart.

was

Respondent ordered the Commander to tell the freed prisoners that they were set free by the Corvin bloc fighters, thinking that some of them might volunteer--and his expectations came true, for several volunteered, among them the father of one of the boys who had volunteered to free the prisoners because his father was one of them.

In the evening, at the main entrance of the Killian barracks, somebody ~~it~~ cried "Help, Help!" and two of the respondent's boys ran there. One of the boys was killed, and the other wounded by soldiers of Paul Malater in the Killian barracks. There was more enemy shooting in the Corvin Corvin bloc Koz, and respondent ordered his men to return the fire, and sent an ultimatum to Paul Malater to cease fire, otherwise the barracks would be destroyed by anti-tank guns. and when they returned fire, a one shot was fired by our anti-tank gun and it wrought much destruction in the barracks. This seemed to impress the Killian forces, and they stopped shooting.

It was about 9 P.M. that respondent received a report that two or three wounded, in a nearby barber shop, were attacked by Russians who had come from their tanks, and found the location of the freedom fighters, apparently due to informers betraying these men. Respondent's brother organized a rescue party to save these wounded, but this party were so severely ~~xxxxxx~~ attacked by another Russian group that they lost two dead, and one wounded, and returned empty handed. The experience of having lost two brave volunteers and the failure of the attempt to rescue the wounded men in the barber shop, made respondent's and his brother so furious, that ~~xxxxxx~~ associates were convinced ^{they} ~~that~~ he had become completely berserk, so that they called an ambulance from an insane asylum, and had ~~him~~ brought there with ^{them} sedatives, until next morning ~~it~~ when ~~he~~ managed to persuade ^{their} his friends that ~~he~~ was sane and would like to return to the group and the fighting. ^{they were the brothers}

Respondent went home on Oct. 27th to see his mother and to tell her how they were faring. By noon he was back at the Corvin bloc. Fights went on as in the previous day, and respondent ~~xxxxxxx~~ made two inventions--first, land mines from 1-1/2 foot copper shells, and second, bombs using the shell ~~xxxxxxx~~ cases mentioned, suspended from a home-made parachute. But it was discovered that people feared the land mines might blow up friendly as well as enemy vehicles and people--also, explosive force and noise of the parachuted bombs not only destroyed enemy tanks, but shock nearby buildings to their very foundations causing fear of possible collapse----hence both these inventions could not be further used in their present state.

XXXXXXXXXXXX In the evening, an armistice was ordered by the X government because of a Russian offer.

Next day, the 26th of October, the forces of the Corvin block went on various missions in town, capturing AVG officers, XXXXXXX obtaining supplies, and looking out for any Russians who might be around. On one occasion, they captured a Russian tank crew, and sold the tank for clothing and food.

In the evening, a letter arrived from Kuzmenov, the commander of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, "hero" of the Soviet Union. The letter was addressed to the Commander of the Freedom Fighters. Kuzmenov guaranteed full amnesty to the fighters if they surrendered, free departure, and also to XXXX make reply regarding any desire to conduct further negotiations. Respondent went to Paul Maletar to show him the letter. In the Millian Barracks. Respondent and a companion had their weapons taken from them at the barracks entrance, then were taken to Maletar, who was in bed since the hour was late.

Maletar, who didn't XXX even sit up during the discussion, was displeased at being addressed, "General, Sir" and insisted on being called "Comrade". In the discussion on how the Kuzmenov letter should be answered, respondent says that Maletar told him to go home and sleep and to leave this entire business alone because there were hundreds of tanks outside the city, and XXX they would attack and wipe out the Freedom Fighters.

Maletar, respondent recalls, was completely reluctant to enter any serious discussion, and he had words only of discouragement and dissuasion. Respondent and his companion on leaving asked for their weapons which had been taken from them at the entrance of the barracks. His request was refused. Then he lost his head, he recalls, and he started screaming, protesting and asking why a Freedom Fighter's arms should be taken away like this. Then he heard Paul Maletar himself yell to the guard that his arms should be returned to him.

When respondent got back to the Corvin block, he called a conference of all Corvin commanders. They drew up ten demands to be sent the Soviet commander, including immediate withdrawal of all Russian troops, and these demands were conveyed to the Russian headquarters. Respondent still has a copy of this document.

After two hours, the Communist party sent a message to respondent to attend a XXXXXXX conference of all the commanders of the Revolution. They were invited to the party headquarters. There they were stopped by Russians XXXXXXX in civilian clothes, who had with them AVG officers. The conference itself took place in the headquarters of the AVG, and four army colonels and an atomic physicist Jancsi, XXXXXXX (son-in-law of Premier Imre Nagy) and a certain Doctor Holnar.

Continued ... Janosi and Dr. Molnar represented the Communist party leadership, and so were the four colonels. There were representatives of various Freedom Fighter groups.

Before the Freedom Fighters could speak, several Communist Party functionaries made remarks, using abusive language such as:

"Do you mean to pretend that you are Freedom Fighters?!"
present

Freedom Fighter groups/included delegations from the forces stationed at Szana Square, Csengeri Street, and Rozsadtomb, Kobanya, and Ujpest. There were nine or ten of such Freedom Fighter leaders. When they started to negotiate, the four colonels asked:

"Where are the commanders? Where are the soldiers? - Who of you is the strategist?"

Respondent and the others answered that they all were commanders and strategists. The four colonels were interested in what was their strength of the Freedom forces, what their weapons were? Foremost in their minds was the question they asked --how do you manage to destroy so many of our tanks?

As the conference proceeded for five or six hours, more Freedom Fighter representatives came in. The Freedom Fighter leaders asked that their demands be made public over the radio, and above all, they pressed for the immediate withdrawal of the Russian troops. Respondent was among those who insisted upon no surrender before withdrawal of the Russian troops. If a favorable agreement could be decided upon, respondent still insisted that the word "Surrender" not be used, but rather only "Handing over Arms" to joint organizations authorized to restore and keep order.--that is, the Freedom Fighter leaders would be part of such joint organizations.

The Freedom Fighter leaders had almost achieved such an agreement when one of them stated that this could not be decided by the government because it was not within the power of the government to act on the withdrawal of the Russian troops--only the Russians could guarantee their withdrawal. This situation frustrated further negotiations. By then it was early morning, and they went over to the Ministry of Defense. First we were seated in the lobby, and were discussing matters with a certain Colonel Varady. Respondent and the other Freedom Fighter leaders insisted upon their being received by the Minister of Defense. They stressed again and again the necessity of immediate withdrawal of the Russian troops. Finally they were admitted to the Minister of Defense Karoly Janza, and General Istvan Kovacs was also present for the negotiations.

After about half an hour of negotiations, Janza called Premier Nagy to negotiate the surrender of arms, and respondent objected. "By no means! - We are ready to hand over the weapons only to those in whose hands we see the accomplishments of our glorious Revolution secure!" Imre Nagy said he was ready to receive the Freedom Fighter leaders at 9.45 A.M., Oct. 29. The leaders walked over to the Parliament building.

As they entered the building with Minister of Defense ~~Janza~~ Janza, he ~~said~~ said that after all he was surrounded by "enemies" and did not know what might happen to him. ~~Respondent~~ Respondent commented that they might be enemies, but they would never engage in assassinations. Still, it seemed that Minister Janza was anxious, for he asked two colonels to accompany him. In the course of the negotiations with Premier Nagy, Minister of Defense Janza argued that an armored division can be withdrawn in a short time, and he listed all the technical difficulties connected with such a withdrawal. Respondent jumped up, and pounded on the table, saying: "If they were able to appear on the scene in three hours, they can certainly leave in six hours!"^{End}
- The other Revolutionary leaders agreed with respondent and stressed the same point.

First, the Minister of Defense Janza, and then Premier Nagy, stood up and tried to quiet the Revolutionary leaders. For quite some time, they got nowhere in the negotiations. Janza argued: "If the Russians withdraw troops from their present positions, people will kill off all the Communists, and anarchy will reign." - One of the Revolutionary leaders tried to refute his statement by saying: "We are ready to let the Hungarian armored division take over positions that the Russians abandon." Then we are ready to cease fighting." - We all were deeply convinced that no Hungarian troops would ever fight against us.

After two hours of negotiations they finally agreed.

Respondent went back to the Corvin block, and ~~reported~~ his brother reported: "While you people were negotiating in the Parliament, Janza issued orders that one of the military units supposed to be loyal attack the Corvin block and capture it. The military leader of that unit, however, was not willing to carry out his orders. Janza did this." - Respondent's brother continued his report: "Because we were without leaders and he made similar attempts to capture other places of resistance while you people were negotiating." -

Respondent's brother also reported what respondent himself experienced as he arrived, that a crew of approximately 250 people rose to almost a thousand people in the morning hours. Mostly young people volunteered to join the Corvin block fighters, because they knew of its fame, and they thought it a great thing to participate in the fighting of such a valiant group. Respondent explained that he gave instructions to all of his fighters that they should not make any decisions between new fighters and experienced ones.

Respondent decided to go to Buda, to the hills where ~~ant~~ anti-aircraft units were stationed, to inform them that ~~if~~ according to the agreement which had been decided on at the Parliament building, Russian troops would withdraw, and would be replaced by Hungarian armor. They should know that it is Hungarian armor that is to come into Budapest, and hence should not be fired on. On his way through the city to the Buda hills, respondent was captured by police and was several times threatened with death, and it was only after all kinds of difficulties that he was released after three and a half hours.

Respondent explains that he experienced during his captivity at the hands of the police that not all of the AVO leadership had yet disappeared, but that they staid and tried to infiltrate all forces, police and otherwise.

It was 5 or 6 P.M. that an all-Revolutionary meeting of all of greater Budapest was called. There were some 40 present, and General Kiraly was also there. The conference took place at Police headquarters. General Istvan Kovacs, chief of the general staff, and General Uasta represented the Hungarian armed forces. Colonel Gaba and Colonel Kopacsi and Major Daszpot were from the Police Forces.

One of the major points in the negotiations was election of the leadership of a comprehensive organization of forces of law and order. General Kiraly was unanimously elected its chairman, and one person was elected to represent the intellectual unarmed ~~xxx~~ fighters, one person representing the students, another representing the armed groups of youth, and this person was respondent.

There was a fourth group represented, the unarmed worker. Now, the representative of the intellectual workers, (those unarmed), unarmed students, and armed groups (whose representative was respondent) organized ~~next~~ together with General Kiraly, who had been elected chairman, into a five member committee. It was this committee which spent the whole night drafting plans at the police headquarters, how best to set up an organization of the forces of law and ~~order~~ order.

The next day, November 3rd, ~~respondent~~ ^{respondent} ~~within~~ ^{within} ~~as~~ ^{began work} as representative of the armed groups ~~in~~ ^{the} forces of law and order. Beginning with the first day of ~~his~~ ^{November} respondent worked constantly at the police headquarters, together with Colonel Kopassi, Major Deszpot, and Colonel Guba. It happened on the first day in the office that Erzsébet Andics was brought in, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ This woman was one of the leading Communists, and one considered particularly vicious and sold on Moscow. As they started talking to her, one of the colleagues of the respondent ~~was~~ remembered that she might be so and they asked her. She immediately took out her citizen papers and showed them. Respondent grew very angry because he knew now that they had no power over her and he sent her away with empty words to the Soviet Embassy suggesting to her that she get out of Hungary as soon as possible, and never come back.

It also happened on his first day of office that the police captain who has been the respondent's captor came to him for orders. He was very much afraid when he recognized respondent; but respondent explained to him that he should go about his duties with more care, not to harm innocent persons, and that was all.

On the 30th, respondent's brother Gergely was elected the chief commander of the Corvin Block by the fighters of that group.

General Kiraly called a meeting of all the Revolutionary commanders and political prisoners in the X barracks. It was the respondent who went to the Freedom Fighter unit commanders with the invitation slips. When the meeting started, respondent's brother, Gergely, rose and asked: "What is Paul Malster doing here among us?" Respondent also rose, shouting: "We don't want to cooperate with Malster!" - But Malster went to respondent's brother, shook hands with him, kissed him, and ~~he~~ said they should not have any personal quarrels now. Others suggested that questions of personal nature be postponed. Malster suggested: "Let's join forces against the common enemy." and this was received with much applause.

Respondent remarks that the Colonel Uazta, Istvan Kovacs

The matter of proportional representation for the forces of law and order was the foremost on the agenda. The army, the police, and the civilian guard (also called national guard) were to participate in the forces of law and order and respondent and others who had formed the civilian (national) guard were anxious that they receive equal rights with the army and the police, and they belonged neither with the Minister of National Defense nor with the Ministry of Interior. Their plan was that army, the police, and revolutionary forces, (that is to say National Civilian Guard), have three representatives each for the first two, and six for the guard, and that one physician represent all those who took care of the wounded, and that in addition one intellectual be also represented, either a writer or a student leader. This would give them (Revolutionary forces ?) a majority versus the army and police. Respondent explains that they were very anxious to have a majority because they were still distrusting the leadership of the army and the police, and were afraid that the two latter forces might be surrendered. Respondent explains further that his brother as well as he were resentful towards accepting Paul Maleter as one of them because their experience had convinced them that Paul Maleter was anything but a Freedom Fighter. He claims that Maleter never fought against the Russians.

The next two days, the first and second of November, respondent spent chiefly with his duties at the police headquarters and attending many conferences. One of topics of these conferences was how the resumption of work in the capital and the nation could be organized. Respondent's opinion was that first, traffic should be restored, that is, that vehicles be available to get a people to work, rather than having to walk. Respondent suggested that all people who volunteered be used to clear the streets and roads, and restore to working order the battered transportation system. Without proper transportation, he argued, people just get nowhere, and the resumption of work was of immediate importance.

On the 18th of November, he crossed over to Austria, after having taken care of moving the entire family to the West.

СЛУЖЕБНЫЕ

The Re-Invasion

Respondent was asked what his expectations were with respect to the Red Army after it had begun to retreat. He said he was firmly convinced that the Russians would withdraw from Hungary for good, because of the "humiliating defeat" their armored division had suffered at the hands of the plain people of Budapest.

Respondent described that the news which reached the - reports concerning the withdrawal of Russian troops were very contradictory. His own mother and little sister were also observing tanks, and reported to them regularly. They watched the tanks withdraw in Soroksar and reports went like this: They saw three tanks moving towards Budapest, and eleven out of Budapest. But ~~in~~ all in all, respondent says, many more tanks were moving out of Budapest than were moving towards it.

Regarding the question, when respondent first heard Soviet withdrawal had been halted, he answers, the morning of Nov. 3 he received very reliable and detailed reports that troops were moving into Hungary from Rumania. But even on previous days he had heard reports, but since he was busy with urgent tasks he didn't pay much attention to them.

Respondent first saw Soviet troops returning in the morning of Nov. 4.

Respondent's major lines of activity from the time of his the Red Army's return to the time of his escape have been already reported, in the detailed account he gave about his activities from Oct. 23 until his escape,

Respondent said that although he abandoned hope of doing much good for his country after Nov. 15, it was actually only one hour before their departure that he actually started planning their escape.

It was with this rocket launcher that respondent tried to ~~experiment~~ experiment and find ways to launch rockets without a launcher, just with a small wiring kit or home made contraption. But his ~~experiments~~ experiments were unsuccessful. He managed, ~~in~~ however, to make ten very good land mines out of bomb shells.

four It was during these five days that respondent took part in a most memorable ~~funerary~~ burial. This was held in the city square of Soroksar, where ~~three~~ Freedom Fighters who had been killed by the Russians, were buried behind the statue to the heroes of the First World War. Respondent thinks it was very characteristic of those days that hundreds of people attended the burial, and Freedom Fighters were there fully armed, and they even ~~and~~ fired salvos, yet ~~the~~ Russian tanks, moving just two blocks away, did not come to ~~investigate~~ investigate or shoot. End disk GA

four Respondent asks the interviewer to include in the record that these ~~three~~ Freedom Fighters were on guard duty when they were ~~made~~ betrayed, and their hide-outs were disclosed to the Russians. The latter crept up near them, and killed them with machine gun fire. Respondent thinks it is symbolic and characteristic of the Revolution that of

four the ~~three~~, one was a student, one a peasant boy, one a skilled worker, and one a humble gypsy worker. Freedom Fighters didn't usually organize in such type groups, respondent admits, but the total strength of the Freedom ~~fighters~~ Fighters certainly included all four types, he says.

On and after the 9th of November respondent and his brothers made leaflets and distributed them. They also put up posters in town, and organized food supply services for the ~~fighters~~ fighters in their area. They still expected to ~~to~~ return to action as before, since there were persistent rumors that the Hungarians would receive arms shipments from abroad.

Assuming that the writers' association, would know more about this rumor, two of the respondent's brothers went on November 14th to the association, asking them for news of what was going on, and what preparations were being made. Respondent recalls they received only discouraging news. The power of the puppet regime of Kadar became stronger because of Soviet backing and directions, and the AVO and were searching for respondent and his brothers. Therefore respondent could no longer be at ~~his~~ home, and when he ~~see~~ saw there was no longer any hope or way for him to help the common cause, he decided to leave.

Respondent, in discharging his duties as one of the top leaders of the forces of law and order, has many anecdotes and experiences to tell, which are meant to underline (and emphasize?) the ~~gaxixax~~ the great effort of the ~~Raxixixax~~ Revolution to keep the record morally unobjectionable.

Respondent spent many hours watching the main telephone lines, in part to see ~~xxx~~ whether the Communists were plotting a return to power, and in part to learn about the course of the Russian forces. During the night, respondent went out to check on the efficiency of law enforcement. He reports that it might be called --fantastic--in fact well-nigh unbelievable how little there was of transgression against law and order by the people.

End 5B

Respondent reports that Jozsef Dudas, one of the leaders of the National Guard, became so conceited with his own importance, and entered into more and more actions which it was not his power to conduct, like issuing documents which he was not entitled to do, or ordering the National Bank to give him large sums and then disposing of those sums in an irresponsible way. Many such reports came in about Dudas, and General Kiraly finally ~~xxx~~ decided to talk with Dudas, and directed the respondent to find this man and bring him in to see the General. But Duda somehow learned about this, and he managed to keep out of reach for one day and one night, until he was eventually contacted and his presence requested at the Parliament building. Dudas went there with body guards and entered. He was a wizard at explaining things, and he managed to prove his good intentions and ~~xxx~~ honesty. Next day, respondent says, he captured (?) the Prime Ministry and this way proved that the reports of his unauthorized acts were not unfounded.

Respondent says that he thinks it is justifiable to mention ~~xx~~ such matters to show that the leadership of the Revolution was anxious to keep the record straight.

Respondent spent the 3rd of November in his duties as described previously, and in great concern over the plan of the Russian forces about which more and more reports came in. Respondent conferred with two army colonels and a police colonel studying a large map at the police headquarters, marking all spots where Russian troops were stationed, and where they were reported moving. The pattern, says the respondent, was that of an invasion.

Respondent talked to the army colonels that are 5 ? all bazookas have to be ~~xxxxxxxx~~ put at the disposal of the Revolutionary forces, and it was only then that he learned to his great distress that they were not in Hungary at all. One of the colonels who took part in the conversation, thought that these Russian troops were not coming to attack, but only to safeguard the withdrawal of the departing Russian forces. But this didn't sound right to the respondent.

In the evening of the 3rd respondent was ~~xxxxxx~~ completely exhausted by all the superhuman efforts he had had to make in the past ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ten days, and the lack of sleep, and everything else. Marian, head of the Military Institute of the Engineering School of Budapest, and Commander of the Freedom Fighter Forces recruited from students of the Engineering School, walked into the respondent's office, and suggested that respondent go home and get a good night's rest. Both respondent and the representative of the students, who worked together, were really so exhausted, that they followed the advice of Marian. The latter promised to try to organize a students' division for the ~~def~~ defense of Budapest, while they were ~~xxxxxxxx~~ getting a rest at home. So respondent went home and tried to sleep long, but ~~it~~ it didn't work out.

It was about 5 A.M. on Nov. 4th when respondent and his two brothers who were also at home awoke because they heard terrible sounds of fighting. All three of them hurried back to the Corvin Block but met such firing at several points, that they were not able to get to their destination. They returned and tried to help organizing defense elsewhere. Respondent himself first went to the Csepel bridgehead. He organized resistance there, with Freedom Fighters available, close to the bridgehead, and in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the main square of Soroksar. Respondent repaired three anti-tank guns. He had been active in the Revolution in repairing guns and in giving instructions to fighters ~~xx~~ and in actual fighting until the mines. In these five days, respondent had managed to destroy two Russian tanks, was part of the crew on Island which shot down a Russian plane, and destroyed a rocket launcher.

D. Conclusion

The question is whether respondent thinks that, on the whole, ~~xxxxxxx~~ Hungary has gained because of the Revolution. He answered: "The Hungarian people proved to the world that Hungarian goulash Hungarian dances, and gypsy music, are not its foremost achievements, but that they ~~xxxxxxx~~ they are ready to die for freedom. - The Hungarian Revolution proved that the entire Communist system is built up on the greatest terror imaginable. - The Hungarian people proved that they can fight Moscow to the last drop of blood, also by fighting its Hungarian hirelings, and are ready to turn against their own kin if the conflict is against Communism. -"

The Hungarian ~~xxxxx~~ Revolution meant a turning point in world affairs. It has had a tremendous effect upon the thinking of the statesmen and of the millions of the world. It shocked the free world into realizing that the freedom of the enslaved people should be a prime concern of the world.

Militarily, it has been proved that the Russian army has no such military value as is believed, and that it cannot stand up well against determined and courageous guerilla fighters.

Last but not least, it was proven that the satellite armies cannot be used for Moscow's goals. It greatly reduced the effectiveness of the cohorts of Moscow.

END-6 B

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION.

A. As regards what respondent expected from the West he said: " I expected not more, but only as much, as was given to Egypt. Nasser was given help. America ordered its own allies to withdraw, but this was not the case when Hungary was in despair. Hungary, a one thousand year old country, which always belonged to the community of free Western nations, was abandoned by the fact that America's enemy was not actually ordered to withdraw. There was no United Nations Committee sent to Hungary, and there was no United Nations police force dispatched. I expected that the United Nations would do the same for Hungary as it did for Egypt because I know fully well that the honor and prestige of the U.N. would have become high all over the world had it succeeded ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ in realizing its own basic aims, but it failed miserably.

B. When ~~xxxxxxxx~~ respondent was asked on what basis he formed his expectations, he replied that he based his hopes on the fundamental consideration that in our days the world of terror should not be able to force its will ~~an~~ upon the world of freedom.

When asked whether he had come into contact with any foreigners between Oct. 23 and the time of his escape, respondent replied that he was asked by two foreign newspaper men, one was Polish and one an American--he doesn't know, perhaps it was Russell Jones, --these newspaper men asked for his permission to talk to his fighters of the Corvin Block and to take pictures, and he gave them permission under certain conditions. These requirements were designed to protect the families of the fighters against reprisals.

V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Family Background

Respondent's father was ~~an~~ the city treasurer of Szamosujvar in the western part of historical Hungary, which belonged from 1918 to 1940 to Rumania, and which from 1945 to date, again has belonged to Rumania. Even though a ~~ungarian~~ respondent's father was city treasurer in Szamosujvar when that part of Hungary was Hungarian again in 1940, respondent's father was elected Mayor, and later he became chief city clerk. because he had differences with Hungarian higher leadership in his protecting local interests. In 1945 he was dismissed from office, and was ordered to leave Rumania. He was not allowed to take any possessions with him. In Hungary he received no pension, although he had been a civil servant most of his life, but he received 20 acres, the price of which had to be paid in 15 years; he received this only because he had nine children. Originally, he had to pay 1100 forints taxes annually, but when the Communists took over they increased the taxes so that in 1952 the amount was made \$4,700. Respondent's father was not able to afford such a high ~~tax~~ taxation, and he returned the 20 acres to the government. From then on, he became a transporter, anxious not to become an employee of the Communist regime.

was
Respondent's father ~~is~~/a doctor of ~~the~~ law and of political science. His mother is a high school teacher of Latin, Hungarian archeology, and ~~is~~ music.

B. S Social Classes.

was
When respondent ~~is~~/asked what social classes there are in ~~the~~ Hungary, he answered: "I don't think there are any social classes in Hungary. All are one. The Hungarian people have become practically a classless society." - When respondent was asked if the Communists constituted a social class by themselves, at least the Communist hierarchy, he replied: "The actual real Communists are only a few thousands, certainly not more!" - ~~Respondent~~ Respondent explains that in 1948 an old peasant friend of his said that the "Peoples' Democracy" will make the ruddy people pale and the pale ones somewhat ruddy, and all will eventually look the same."

Returning to the question of the Communists, respondent said that he thinks of these few thousands that they are such a small group, which by no means can be considered the social stratum.

Asked about contacts of respondent with each of the various groups in the Hungarian population (Interviewer is anxious to avoid the expression, "Social Class") respondent explained that in the last ten years he was a peasant, except with some brief interruptions. For instance, in 1949 he was a mill worker, and after one month he was transferred to the repair shop of the mill, where he did miscellaneous repairing. Later he was in charge of the bookkeeping in that place, but he stayed no longer in the mill than about five months because then he was transferred to the Bureau of Mill Industry Industries, where he became assistant head of the Flour Department. His duties were difficult and his responsibilities great. Nevertheless, since he did no party work, he earned less money than as a mill worker, and he quit his job. - In 1950, respondent became a student of the Academy of Eastern Commerce. But in 1952 he was dismissed, because of political unreliability. In 1953 he was a transport worker in a subway building project. For some time he was the foreman of 60 workers, but after ten months he left his job because he helped the workers and displeased the higher ups in the company, who were always eager to cut the wages and extend the working time. Respondent engaged in many arguments and finally realized it would be better to leave. His conscience hurts him badly, because he feels he abandoned the workers who were struggling for their daily bread. But he thought his first responsibility was to his own family.

END 7A

Presently respondent joined forces with his brothers and established a moving business, and they moved the furniture of many people, particularly they established connections within the University, and he worked for many University professors. These professors were impressed by the spectacle of six brothers cooperating together to make a living, some of the brothers still students.

This little summary of respondent's activities in various fields is meant to serve as an answer to the question what contacts the respondent actually had with each of the ~~xxxxxx~~ social groups in Hungary. He thinks that he had quite a bit of contact with members of the various groups, all the more since many people came to his father for advice. They knew that his father was a doctor of law and they came asking him for counsel, so respondent thinks ~~as~~ he saw and ~~xxx~~ knew and liked a great many people from all ~~xxxx~~ walks of life, and this is why he thinks that ~~there~~ there is just one class in Hungary.

His attitudes towards these groups can be expressed by the following words: Real, deep-seated social cleavages ceased to exist in Hungary. Destiny ~~for~~ circumstances,) forced ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ many Hungarians who had formerly been intellectuals to earn their daily living by menial work, and so they mixed with workers, and the reverse. Both complained to each other and fought together for ~~the~~ their rights. There were no more designations such as "stinking peasants" existing in Hungary.

Respondent thinks he belongs equally to workers, peasants, and ~~intelligentsia~~ intelligentsia. He belongs to the people, he ~~says~~ thinks.

Respondent thinks the workers were hardest hit by Communism. Workers were generally forced to stay in their own occupations, and they experienced exploitation at its worst.

E. Social Advancement.

Respondent explained that the political views of an individual were most important if he wished to climb and advance himself, that is, "right" political view were decisive in somebody's ~~or~~ getting ahead, or (if he had the wrong views) in losing his freedom and possibly his life.

The second most important factor ^{for advancement} was his class origin, says the respondent. Of course, if a person's political views as well as his class origin were to the taste of the ~~the~~ Communist leaders, this combination was the most powerful one. The Communists

liked best an absolutely "raw human material":
- the persons who were trained by nobody else than the Communist masters to become fanatical Communists.

Until 1948 and 1949 left-wing intellectuals were able to have their way. But by 1949, the Communists "educated" enough intellectual leaders who came out of the ranks of workers "worker categories" became industrial leaders, political leaders, and were put into control of special fields, and became experts. More than one cobbler became an agricultural expert because for some time he had worked as a farm hand or as a day worker on farms.

After 1953, some improvement came, and the peasants had more chance to work on their own farms without being killed by taxes. But the pattern changed greatly according to who the local leaders were. There were some small tradesmen who got their licenses back.

Speaking about ^{the Communist} ~~the Communist~~ as a person, respondent said that it was the scum of the earth who were ready to do anything to advance the cause of Communism, who were most likely to advance in Communist ~~xxx~~ Hungary.

VI FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communistic Effects

Respondent states that there was a ^{great} ~~marked~~ effect by Communism on family life in Hungary. The family life of the working class, he explained, was undermined. The wife had to work, as a rule. The children were put in state nurseries (during the day) and in quite a few cases the man was working in the night shift, and the wife in the day shift, and they spent little time together.

B. Rearing Children

Communism changed the way children are brought up, mainly by preventing a great many parents from spending enough time and effort on their children. This resulted in parents rearing their children in a more relaxed (loosened) and liberal (broad minded and less strict) atmosphere, which in effect was too often negligence. Generally speaking, says respondent, one may say that children are no longer under the strict parental authority ~~which was formerly~~ and supervision once prevalent. As a result, many more children mature rapidly into grown-ups.

Speaking of changes in areas of parents and children understanding each other, and of children following the advise of parents, respondent says there is little change from the past in this respect. On the whole, parents are respected, and loved, and are listened to

C. Sex Patterns.

Regarding courtship and marriage, respondent said that parental control over children has lessened on the ~~the~~ whole, and therefore that respect for moral obligations has somewhat declined since Communism came into power. Of course, respondent added, this happened mostly in families in which parents were neglectful. The official Communist line did not favor family life at all, it seems to respondent, that a great many steps were taken by Communism to destroy or at least weaken family life.

END 7B

There was even a Communist principle, respondent reports, which held that it is glorious to be a girl mother ("unwed") and it is just a duty to be a mother if one is a married woman. Respondent knows of a case in which the bed of an unwed mother was decorated with flowers, in a hospital, and where the entire case was played up, glorifying the unwed mother. Respondent learned about this from his sister-in-law, a patient ~~xxx~~ at this hospital, in the maternity ward there.

In reply to the question as to what happened to marriage in Communist Hungary, respondent said that in many marriages laxity in marital relations ~~xxxx~~ became the pattern. The young woman who was ~~is~~ forced to work in some factory and was to be all day with men was quite often tempted to neglect her husband and to become more interested in other men. In a great many cases, husband and wife were very little together. Many party functionaries took advantage of the situation that they were ~~the~~ masters over others almost of their ~~ix~~ very lives and many women were tempted to accept "favors" from party functionaries while they thought they helped their families at the same time to get pay raises and better working conditions.

Comparing the number of illegitimate children, and of ~~vd.~~ cases, respondent says there were less during the war than ~~xxxxxxx~~ under Communists. The state supported the idea of having illegitimate children. If the father could be determined, he had to pay for support of the child. If not, the state provided support. Until the child became three or four years old he or she was left with the mother. Later such children were placed in institutions.

Officially there is no prostitution under Communists, but there was all the more illegal activity in this field, respondent reported. Many prostitutes who were "in business" when the ruling came that this practice ~~xx~~ must cease immediately, became cab drivers, other became park functionaries (caretakers, gardeners?) others nurses. Respondent knows such a nurse, and she already had ~~xxxx~~ three children from different fathers, all being illegitimate infants.

Crimes were punished less, respondent says, than political "misbehavior". If one looted, he might have received ten to twelve years in prison, but for minor political "crimes"-that is to say, disobedience, life imprisonment was meted out - if a person killed an individual who had been important in the era preceding Communism, this was considered a minor case. But if a person even hit a party functionary, it was regarded a major crime. Everything was judged by the light of the "class struggle".

14.8

Increase in the crime rate, respondent thinks, was due to several factors, one outstanding one being the difficulty in making a living particularly for those with families.

Asked whether the crime rate among women had risen, respondent replied that it probably had, and he recounts this: In 1952, he caught two women who stole about 45 pounds of apricots from trees in his garden. He turned them over to the police because of his anger over this loss of fruit he and his family were expecting because of the care and attention they had given the trees. The two women received no penalty, and the apricots remained at the police headquarters for the police officers to consume, respondent said, and he points out how limited incomes were factors in the whole incident. Respondent was told that up to 45 pounds stealing was not considered a felony, it was the theft of produce, because those who stole such things were considered people in need, and those from whom the produce was taken were considered kulaks, or capitalists. People dared not to steal from kolkhozes, because these were the net project of the government, and it was as a sacrilege to do anything against them. Kolkhozes even had a special ministry of their own, so much importance was laid on them. - "Few kolkhozes, ~~were there~~" - respondent remarked smilingly, "from which one could steal anything!" indeed existed

Speaking of the crime rate among young people, respondent said that there were more juvenile delinquents than before. He attributed this fact to the decline in strict family rearing of children. There were much less restrictions on children and young people in families now, respondent said, than before. Above all, parents now have less time and energy to devote to their children.

Juveniles in factories had many opportunities to commit felonies. To steal from a factory was considered not at all morally objectionable by a great many young people, and by quite a few not so young ones. The Socialist state always emphasized that the factory belonged to the workers, and many of the workers behaved as if it really did belong to them. There was a saying: "Yours is the plant - steal for yourself!" At the same time, stealing from Communist comrades was considered something utterly immoral. Respondent told a story of a worker who stole files from the factory on several occasions. His method was to tie a file to his leg. Workers were usually searched for stolen goods at the gate of the plant. However, the guards had no time to feel for anything hidden in the lower part of the person's trousers. Taking advantage of this, the worker in question tied a file to his leg, and as he passed the guards, accidentally dropped from the trousers, and the string which tied the file to his leg did not break, so the file was dragged along the ground behind the worker. The noise of the file caught the attention of the guards and one of them started walking after the worker. At that very moment, several workers surrounded the man with the file, so as to hide him from the eyes of the guards, and other workers stepped near the guards and asked them to look in the other direction and ignore the incident. The guards understood what it was all about, and cooperated. -- Such an atmosphere, respondent explained, greatly contributed to juveniles not considering stealing as something wrong, so factories were deprived of many of their smaller tools and belongings.

Asked about alcoholism, respondent said that generally speaking, there was more drinking than in previous years. More people were more bitter, and more bitter, than before, hence a good many drank more to forget about their daily worries and humiliations and fears. One could see a great many people drunk on holidays, respondent reports. The alcohol used in low priced drinks, says respondent, was made from corn or from rye, and these two kinds of alcohol were more murderous than the kinds in previous times.

Respondent does not know the word "Hooligan".

When respondent is asked about the Jampeces, he says with a smile that he likes most of them. These are rugged individualists, he explains, who ~~had~~ have "guts". They resisted oppression. Most of them were young workers, some between 22 and 26. These people liked to dress well after work, and to dress in a way that was utterly disliked by the Communists because they thought it was an American style of dressing, and in fact they (the X Jampeces) ~~thought~~ thought very much of America and the American films shown in Hungary, merited their great appreciation and admiration. They tried to imitate Americans, in appearance at least. Generally speaking they were very good workers, but they were ones who hated to take any orders. They had a spirit of good comradeship and helped each other. They developed a spirit that was termed "~~the~~ Jampec" ~~spirit~~.

- that meant good comradeship with each other, and also to have the courage not to be pushed around by authorities, but they were not cocky towards their fellow workers. - These X people practiced the principle of stealing from the factories, but, respondent concludes, X Jampeces belonged ~~to~~ to the most daring fighters, few as they were in proportion to the others.

VII. RELIGION

A. Communistic Effects.

Respondent nods Yes to the question whether Communist rule had much effect on religion and religious life in Hungary. Most people became more religious, he says. There were more men in churches than at any time before that he knows of. But at the same time, it is true, he explains that more people had to go to churches outside their own neighborhood so they would not be recognized by the informers who were on duty in the churches. You could even discover army officers in civilian clothes in the churches at the Sunday mass, respondent remarks. By 1953 there were many converts because so many of the people thought there must be a God who will not tolerate all of the sufferings of the people caused by Communist oppression, respondent says.

The Catholic religion was hardest hit, respondent believed, at least in the part of the country that where he was living. One reason for this, he said, was that the Catholic religion is basically dedicated to keeping the smallest unit of society, the family, intact, quite contrary to Marxism and Leninism, in which there is no unit more important than the state. "The spiritual, physical, and intellectual balance of the personality of the religious individual was so perfectly established within the teachings of the Catholic Church that ~~Communist~~ Communism recognized that ~~this church was its most dangerous opponent.~~ this church was its most dangerous opponent. - The personal admiration that Catholics showed towards Cardinal Mindszenty as champion of human liberty and the head of their church, also played a part in the attitude of Communists which was particularly hostile towards the Catholic Church."

The following are respondent's views of the effects of Communism on Protestantism: "Communism is not so much against the church as it is against the person's devout attitude. Devout Protestants whose children received religious instruction regularly and who attended church services, and adhered to church laws, were ridiculed and harassed, similarly with Catholics. The Communists tried to influence the young people against religion, regardless whether they were Catholics or Protestants. They were

after the souls (loyalty ?) of the young people, and not only after the souls of Catholic young people. One of their favorite tricks was to schedule sports events on Sundays at the time of church services."

Here are respondent's views on the effects of Communism on Judaism: "There were very few religious Jews. The longing for high positions prompted many Jews to leave their church, and to embrace Communism. The many party big wheels AVH officers and police officers usually thought of and spoken of as Jews were practically no Jews at all, because they left their religion. There were extremely few religious Jews among the Communists, and religious Jews on the whole were just as unwanted as other devout people by the Communists."

IX B. Personal Religious Life.

Respondent thought that religion was a very important factor in his life. "A person who cannot have a balance of spiritual values, intellectual and physical values, lowers himself to the standard of an animal. If there no religion, it would be necessary to find or invent one. I dislike quoting a commonplace, but it is just as true as it was in the past when Jesus said in the Bible that man lives not ~~only~~ by bread alone. If one has no deep spiritual conviction, he has a hard time ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ rising above a material level."

Respondent thought he was less religious than his parents. His father was for 30 consecutive years one of the church ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the Armenian Catholic Church he explained. elders In the last few years, he was the lay chairman of the Budapest Armenian Catholic Congregation. "When during the Communistic regime no one dared to take such a high church position" respondent said, "a position of honor, with duties only and no salary, he defied the Reds and faced the risks involved, and worked for our church. My mother has been, for the last 30 years, organist of our church. It was religious conviction that kept our family together with strong ties of affection, and which kept our faith burning, our faith not only in God and Providence, but also in the coming of a historical change that will bring about Hungarian freedom!"

Respondent thought he was somewhat more religious than the average Hungarian, but he ~~also~~ thought that most Hungarians are religious to a certain extent which may be called basic religious conviction.

Respondent went to church every Sunday, and two or three times a year at least went to confession and communion. He contributes regularly to the financial needs of the church.

C. Church Function

To the question what the relation between church and state should be, respondent said: "Harmony. Church and state should both work to have society remain free and to work out its destiny, making the world a better place to live in."

Asked for his opinion of the role of churches in education, respondent said that the prime role of the church is in education. The knowledge about God and respect for human rights, and for human life in general, and individual liberty, and love for fellow human beings, should be taught by the churches, respondent thought.

Asked whether the churches should have responsibility for setting up moral codes, and standards ~~and~~ for such things as movies, plays, and so on, respondent took the following stand: "The church should have nothing to say as to what could or should be printed or shown. The church should teach ~~what~~ what ~~its~~ moral values and convictions should be developed in the souls of people. The church should help them to develop such values. The churches should teach people to respect the other fellow's rights. The intellectual standards of people should be raised, by the teachings of the church, high enough so people can judge for themselves."

Regarding whether the churches should have an active political role, respondent replied: "No! The church should educate ~~people~~ (people so they will form) such a society that it will make sound policies. The should aim at (developing better) ~~and~~ souls which will find the right ways in public life."

Respondent was asked whether the Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism. He said that the religion was suppressed. Respondent thought that the attitude of Jews towards Communism in Hungary was that of condemning it. Most Jews had been in business, and their basic freedoms were strangled by the Communists when they took over at the end of the 1940's. Why should Jews like it?

Respondent estimated that there were very many Jews who were Communists. But they were the ones who were not religious, he explained. Very few religious Jews who were Communists and party members. The ones for whom it meant little or nothing were in the party for personal gains, for advantages enjoyed by themselves and their family members, respondent stated.

Regarding the attitude and actions of Jews during the Revolution, respondent said that the great majority of Hungarian Jews behaved well during the Revolution, and were against oppression and for freedom. At the same time, he remarked, that there were a number who were too deeply involved in serving the Communist regime, such as AVH officers and party leaders, and it was too late for them to quit.

Asked about Jewish participation in demonstrations and fighting, respondent said he didn't know much about demonstrations because he was not in them but he heard that there were Jews in those. He said there were three Jews among the Corvin Block fighters as he tried to give an account of what he personally knew of Jewish participation in the fighting -- and two of these three Jews were dedicated Freedom Fighters, and the third one was an AVH officer who only pretended to be with the Freedom Fighters and who at last was proven a traitor. He acted upon AVH orders to infiltrate the ranks of the Freedom Fighters, as did many other AVH officers until they were discovered. They turned traitors at the critical moment, directing fire at the Freedom Fighters.

Respondent didn't think that the Jews on the whole were afraid of an independent Hungary. When the word "program" is used, respondent didn't know what it was and when it was explained, he had never heard of such a thing in Hungary. He thought there would be no reason for Jews to think that mass atrocities would be committed against them, if there is an independent Hungary. He actually laughed out loud when we told him such things might happen, according to some people who discussed possible future events in an independent Hungary. He said: "How in hell could you think of something like that? Our people are much more humane and much more mature than to commit atrocities, and particularly mass atrocities!"

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Definition.

Respondent explained that by Hungarian youth, the students, young workers, and young peasants between the ages ~~and~~ of 16 and 25 or 26 are originally meant.

B. Leadership in the Revolution

Hungarian youth played the main role in the Revolution, respondent thought.

In the six months preceding the Revolution, intellectual youth played a very great part in exploding (creating mental and emotional feelings favorable to) the Revolution, respondent stated, but he hastened to remark that there was no preparation for the ~~Revolution~~ Revolution in any sense of the word, ~~but~~ only sentiments were stirred up, and hatred, ~~and~~ the renouncing of Communism and of Communist ~~practices~~ practices was ~~so~~ so bitter that the Revolution finally exploded because of terrible provocation on the part of the Communists, but nobody planned or prepared it. Still speaking of the six months prior to the Revolution, respondent said that youth made itself more and more heard, and revealed its bitterness regarding the Communists. The Patofi ~~Circle~~ Circle was particularly ~~important~~ important and vocal in this process, he added.

"Communism gave its most convincing, and, to a great many people, final proof of its bankruptcy when persons who had previously been convicted and executed in the Rajk trial, were rehabilitated, and their bodies were exhumed and reburied as those of martyrs of Communism. Youth started to speak openly at the burials and tried to guess what the real reasons behind these trials were, and tried to imagine ~~is~~ what Hungary would be had those persons not been liquidated."

Respondent said that youth had the lion's share in the demonstrations as well as in the fighting.

The following are respondent's views why it was youth that took the lead in the Revolution: "Youth wasn't quite clear as to what might follow if the ~~Revolution~~ Revolution was crushed, but people who had lived

Continued "...through the Communist Revolution and r regime of ~~xxxxxx~~ terror of Bela Kun in 1919 remembered the consequences, and those who knew the consequences of the revolution and of the defeat of the Revolution of 1848 were much more cautious, and those were people in the older generation. - Besides, youth was much more dissatisfied than the older people because youth saw the plight of their folks and saw its own plight. Youth saw how its parents had to struggle for their daily bread, but that many of the older people grew tired and resigned to their fate. However, youth was not so easy to keep down, so to speak. It believed that things could be changed."

older people

According to respondent, /during the Revolution thought of youth as of heroes, and the older generation encouraged and counselled youth, and helped them where possible. They hid those who sought refuge and fed those who were hungry. Respondent remembered having seen old people giving, in the morning of the 24th of Oct., when the actual fighting really got under way, gasoline bottles to youth. He saw them do this secretly and telling the boys not to let other people know that they did so.--because the older ones were still afraid of the Communists living with them.

The opinion of youth about the older people was divided. Some young people thought that the older ones were yellow. Others thought they were not confident enough to expose themselves to danger; if they had children, it should be understood and appreciated. As we ~~xx~~ fought, it happened ~~xx~~/several cases that

in

we did not accept some one ~~xx~~ as a Freedom ~~xx~~ Fighter if he revealed that he had children. We in our family did not allow one of my brothers to fight with us, because he had children. So one may see that this consideration for those who had children played an important part in the stand and attitude of youth towards the older people who were not fighting.

F. Indoctrination

Respondent said that it is true indeed that Communists devoted tremendous amounts of time and money to win over youth to Communist ideology, and to make them faithful followers of the Communist party line, with

with all of its curves and unexpected changes. Respondent particularly pointed to Sunday morning films and public theatres and shows which were given to youth for no charge.

The fundamental hypocrisy of Communist education and of the entire Communist system was brought out in the attempt by the respondent to explain why the Communist efforts to indoctrinate youth failed: - "Youth ~~experiments~~ felt that it was constantly being fed lies by the Communist leadership. The Communists preached water while they drank wine. Youth soon recognized that Communist ideology was false from its foundations upwards. Young people attended party ideological training only because it meant loss of an opportunity to receive higher education and in later years it meant loss of ~~their~~ livelihood, if not loss of liberty, not to attend them.

The Communists would have won much more faithful followers had they followed their own teachings. The Communists would have won much more support from the masses if they had been adequately prepared in preaching the gospel according to "St. Marx", but most of the Communist leaders were half-educated people with a six-months-course-wisdom. People with higher education ~~are~~ looked down upon those party prophets and party heroes who meant to teach them the fear of the party, and ~~lacked~~ lacked basic knowledge of the world. My political officer for instance, said that in 1938 we crossed the Rubicon. ~~Rubicon~~ In the question period, I asked for permission to say something and asked the following question: "I am a peasant boy and don't know what Rubicon means." - "The political officer stammered and stuttered and groaned and then he tried to play the ~~big~~ wise man, and turned to me with an air of higher wisdom and said that it was a transition from Socialism to Communism. Then I asked him if this word was invented by Lenin or Stalin. He again was embarrassed, and turned to the soldiers with an air of superiority and asked them: 'Well, boys, who knows it?' and then one of the soldiers stood up and explained to him the origin/of the word Rubicon."

and meaning
Take another instance when my brother was in service. His political officer explained the great difference between the Capitalists and the Communistic systems. My brother stood up and asked why it is not admitted that Communism actually is State Capitalism. He embarrassed the political officers so ~~kk~~ badly that he was forced to admit that he would not know the right

answer my brother's question, and that he would inquire next day of higher authorities, and so it happened."

"I could quote many more instances to show how poorly prepared these Communistic officers were, and also Communistic leaders in general, and so one can easily recognize that they were not even prepared to protect and defend their hypocrisy well enough. How could one expect the reasoning minds of youth to accept such an ideology, and from such leaders and such a party?"

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. Respondent named as main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary the following: the Secret Police, the profound misery of people.

When it is emphasized that he should think of factor ~~xx~~ apart from big political matters, respondent explained: "The extremely high prices for the most essential foods were of course things ~~ix~~ about which people complained much. One kilogram of bread, for instance, cost 3 forints, and that sum was the average hourly wage of workers, more or less. How far can wages go when one has to work an hour for only two pounds of bread? Of course, one can spend this amount for something else, eggs, for instance, but this sum would buy only two eggs! Sometimes the eggs were higher, and one was hardly able to buy one egg for that sum! - Public transportation was also a cause of ~~xxxxx~~ complaint by the people, since the service was so poor."

XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948.

Respondent explained that he was completely disinterested in politics before 1948. He formed opinions of his own, and the basic tenants were pure representative democracy, either in the form of a republic or in the form of a democratic constitutional monarchy. He favored land reform.- Respondent said his outlook did not change after the war and that he was still indifferent to politics because he saw that there was no fair play possible. He saw that the only way open to him was to make a decent living and hope for basic changes in the political structure of the country. Unfortunately, he said, he did not know on what to pin his hopes, but he trusted in divine providence and in the nature of man, and in the love of freedom of the Hungarians.

Respondent was in no political party, nor were his parents or other members of his family.

When respondent was asked about a over-all political views in those years, he summed up the situation by saying how much people desired to have a really democratic system, and how/profoundly they hated Communism, at least most of those people whom he knew,

Asked about his feelings regarding the Communist party before 1948, respondent explained: "I knew that the Communists were liars and cheaters. We discussed Marxism and Leninism critically in our family circle, and we thought that it could not be realized because it leaves human nature out of account. We saw that the scum of the earth, except for a few naive idealists, and for such people who were forced to join the party almost at gun point, well, that with these exceptions, the scum of the earth took over in the name of the almighty Communist party."

Respondent's knowledge of Bela Kun and his attitude towards him and the Communist party of 1918 and 1919 is expressed in the following words: " I heard of Bela Kun and the regime of terror he had in those years, or rather in less than a year. He took over the reins of government. It really was a regime of terror and force, and so I could not think it right.

"Nothing in human society that is built upon terror and force can represent human values, foremost of which is freedom of conscience."

"During the war I formed a very low opinion of the Communist party, because during the war years the Communists not only committed acts of sabotage for political reasons, but also for the intimidation of the masses of the people. I saw that the Communists were ready to sacrifice any number of human lives for no apparent reason except to intimidate people and to show their supposedly unlimited power."

The only change in respondent's attitude was that his opinion of the Communist party/became even lower and its ideology

B. The Communist Party after 1948.

The following is respondent's listing of what groups he thinks there are among the people who have joined the Communist party: "When you asked what kinds of people join the Communist party, and why, I have to divide them into various groups, because it is not just one kind of ~~people~~ people who join the party. Let me start with the most striking group. Nobody knows, but it seems to me that a ~~strikingly high~~ strikingly high number of Communists in leading roles have some physical defects, such as hunchbacks, people with missing fingers, cripples, people with bad legs, and so forth. I couldn't help thinking that such people felt that Communism would compensate them for their defects and for what they missed in life in respect of power and influence and respectability (popularity or distinction?) and these would somehow be gained by them if they united their own shortcomings with the almighty power of Communism. - Of course, we also must consider that most of such people were not able to perform satisfactory manual labor, and they preferred to speak in positions of the ~~party~~ party where their only real duty was to keep talking, and received power and money for doing just this. - Another group of Communists is the one in which are the persuaded people. It would not be easy to estimate what percentage are persuaded Communists, but I think ~~there~~ there are some. - I would put into a third group those who are driven more by curiosity than anything else, along with the desire to be among the well informed and influential people. Such people

like to be inside of a leadership. Such people did not know much about Communism before they joined, but they enjoyed being close to the fire, and being ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ kept warm by it. A fourth group of people joined the Communists out of interest in advancing themselves. They expected better positions and higher ranks and greater salaries, and their expectations and hopes were usually rewarded. ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ A fifth group would include those who were anxious to cover up sins of the past. They had guilty feelings and they wanted the protection of the party. Many former Arrow Cross party members became Communists. A sixth group consisted of the valuable idealists who actually were never Communists at heart, never confessed Communist principles, but who thought that this was the only way to represent their fellow workers. I am speaking of plain workers, and of those who enjoyed the confidence of the others. They were anxious to become the spokesmen of the common people, so as to uphold their rights; and to bar ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ real Communists, who were stooges and traitors to the cause of the workers, from receiving such jobs. Curious as it is, there were many small enterprises in which such a situation developed. The workers were sort of conspiring and elected their own people instead of apple polishers who were favored by the party, and who blindly obeyed party directives. Workers were happy if they could elect somebody in their plants to ~~xx~~ represent them, who talked over matters with his constituents. There were numerous cases in the Hungarian Revolution where such Communist leaders and worker representatives were kept in Workers' Councils."

Asked about actual contacts with Communist party members, respondent explains: "I knew a party secretary who belonged to the category I have just described. He was a friend of mine who worked in one of the departments at a Csepel plant. This fellow often asked me for my opinion ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ in regard to matters on which he was to make ~~an~~ decision, which decisions of his were very often contrary to the desires of the party. He was sincerely interested in ~~my~~ opinions - Many young party members ~~were~~ in the same ~~xxxxxxx~~ category. whom I knew All of these people were the kind of members that I would have been had I joined the Communist party."

Asked about his opinion regarding what attitude party members had towards the party, respondent said: "Most of the members fell into the categories which I described above which did not have a genuine belief in Communism except for one category. On the whole, there were very few persuaded people, and I think there were few real opportunists. The largest percentage considered party membership as nothing more than a basis (help or requirement?) for earning a secure living. Most party members hated the party leadership as much as those of us not members."

Regarding changes in party policies in the last eight years, respondent said: "It was only the 20th Party Congress that brought some real change. This meant a great new direction in party policies. This Congress dared to point to the wrong directions in the party, and a new phase was begun as a result of the revelations made at the 20th Party Congress. Party members themselves dared to recognize and to describe mistakes in party leadership, within the party, later even outside the party. This was the place where a ferment started. Many of the party members here cited had known already before of these mistakes, but they hadn't dared to utter their dissent. Until the 20th Party Congress, they thought they had to denounce the way the band was playing."

Here are respondent's views on those changes: "When we saw changes, we talked these over with father in the family, and father said that the avalanche had just started to roll and there could be no force to stop it. They could only slow it down. It seemed to us that the disintegration of the Communist system actually was under way."

"The main reason for the changes was the fact that after Stalin's death, the passing of this dictator, a new power, a dictatorial clique, took over the reins, and competition for power forced them to accuse each other of crimes and mistakes."

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Asked what he thought of party morale, in the last eight or ten years, respondent said: "In the beginning, party members didn't have much against the party; many of them liked it. But after the autumn of 1950, and particularly the years 1951 and 1952, the realization dawned on them that a clique of terror gripped the nation. This realization caused many sincere

party members and sympathizers to turn completely against it. - In 1953, Imre Nagy had to reconcile the differences in the party by liberalization and to prevent the party from splitting up. Thus the Communist party let Imre Nagy take over as an expedient to prevent eruption of open hostilities."

Asked what the top leaders of the Communist party are like, respondent volunteers this information:

"There are very few persuaded Communists, perhaps ~~in~~ two or three, and the rest are power ~~thirsty~~ thirsty mad pushers, who like to be "big shots" in public life. A large percentage use the party only as a means of carrying out their own political ambitions!"

The following are observations of respondent regarding motives and personalities of the top leaders of the Communist party: "Take one certain Karoly Kiss. He was a Muscovite and he is in charge of controlling - that is, checking on how Moscow's orders are actually carried out by the Hungarian party leaders. This man is a Satanic figure. Zoltan Vas and Marosan go more for material gains. For instance, Zoltan Vas, I was told, bought a palace in some foreign country for a tremendous sum, and that certain building was also wanted for the United States embassy or legation, whatever it is in that country, and Zoltan Vas is said to have beaten the United States offer by \$20,000. Regardless whether this case is true or not, these people certainly try to gain power in the nation and abroad, in political as well as material and financial fields. There were also rumors that the largest Swiss bank asked the Hungarian government who the baker, Zoltan Vas, was, who had large deposits in Swiss banks. - Munnich would have liked to play Kadar's role, but he is no party school graduate, but an intellectual, and the Muscovites were afraid of a person with whom some Moscow orders could have been well discussed -- because Munnich is one with whom an intelligent conversation can be conducted -- and the Muscovites preferred a mere puppet, namely Kadar, who carries out orders blindly. - Rajk, I know that he was a shrewd Szekely - (Szekely means Transylvanian and it designates a person belonging to people who inhabit most of east Transylvania, who are of a different type of Hungarians. They are descendants of one or several tribes that differ in several respects from the other tribes that were the ancestors of the Hungarians of today. They are supposed to be very shrewd and not so straightforward talkers as most Hungarians are.)

Regarding the effectiveness of these acts of the opposition, respondent said: "Opposition was very effective, because people found out more and more that the masses were not ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ true supporters of Communism. This is ~~what~~ why the Communist had to develop and continue without cease, methods of terror. This is why deportations from Budapest took place. This is why they scattered Budapest persons over various parts of the country, people who could have given wise counsel to disgruntled element - ~~is~~ The Communists introduced the institution of internment camps to counter the effectiveness of resistance. If anybody ~~was~~ was not quite kosher from a Communistic standpoint, he could be interned without any court trial or authority. He could be interned indefinitely. -- People in key ~~positions~~ positions, who were not 100% reliable, were under permanent police observation."

except that

Respondent thinks that he cannot note various phases of opposition behavior ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ after the 20th Party Congress, more and more of bitterness came out into the open, as he previously described.

Asked about the activities of the intellectuals, respondent ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ referred, first of all, to the Irodalmi Ujsag: "It used a tone, getting stronger issue by issue, in "scrutinizing" the mistakes of the regime and attacked this way the regime itself. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Secondly, respondent mentions the Petofi Circle :-
"I am sorry that I wasn't a member of that wonderful group of people, but I could not because I was under police observation since 1952. I could not afford to compromise those people whose meetings I ~~XXXXXX~~ attend. - I remember that in connection with the Rajk rehabilitation process Mrs. Rajk spoke out ~~was~~ very openly against the terror of the regime. It meant a great lift to the democratic elements of the country to see that the press published some of Mrs. Rajk's remarks."

END II A

Respondent had no knowledge of intellectual ferment before the Petofi meetings. Irodalmi Ujsag was best known by him.

Asked whether intellectuals in the opposition had anything new to say, respondent thought: Those ~~was~~ writers aired everybody's grievances and brought them to the attention of the authorities. They were spokesmen for the public. Of course, the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ realization

theirs.
was not ~~shared~~, but was shared by every sound minded person in the Hungarian nation. - I consider their role as preparation of the sentiment or public opinion against the regime."

Speaking of the intellectuals who led the fight against the government on the intellectual level, respondent said: that as a matter of course, he has the greatest esteem for them. He thinks ~~that~~ they acted in the line of Hungarian tradition where one always can find authors and outstanding writers of thinkers of the nation in the forefront of fighting for freedom and independence. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ of the nation as well as of the individual."

In respondent's opinion, the role of the intellectual/s was inspired by a sense of mission: "They felt that the disintegration process and the weakness of the state, of the regime, that is to say, was in a phase where it didn't make much difference whether they, for giving decisive blows to the regime, got jailed for standing up against it. There were persuaded, idealistic Communists among them who were not afraid of jail, because they knew that truth was on their side. Their disillusionment with Communistic practices was so bitter that they ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ were willing to face anything rather than keep seeing any longer the betrayal of the Hungarian people."

XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER.

C. The Hungarian Army

Respondent made a great difference between the role of the individuals who happened to be in the military in those days, and the army itself: "The Hungarian Army had a very little role in the Revolution. There were deserters who brought us arms and many deserters joined the ranks of the Freedom Fighters. There were also lower rank officers who passively consented to the disappearance of the deserters. There were a few outstanding higher rank officers who joined us, but they were the exception and not the rule. Take, for instance, the colonel who delivered arms to the Corvin Block and who gave his counsel generously and courageously. Malter did not issue any orders supporting the Revolution until October 29, but he gave orders that Revolutionaries be disarmed and that the ~~some~~ ones making resistance efforts be arrested."

Respondent learned about the army's activities during the Revolution solely from first hand knowledge as the second in command of the Corvin Block, and as in the beginning one of the prime movers in building up a point of resistance in the Corvin block. Later, he had experience while negotiating with other Revolutionary leaders, ~~some~~/leaders, and leaders of the police. army

Asked about the behavior of various army units, respondent said: "Until Oct. 29, I had no knowledge of any units joining the Revolution anywhere."

Respondent did not know of any geographical differences but he very emphatically maintained that the overwhelming percentage of the Revolutionaries who came from army ranks were enlisted men. - At the same time, he pointed to the fact that his experience there was ~~at~~ no difference between the behavior of soldiers of worker, peasant, or intellectual origin.

Respondent maintained that he was in no way surprised by the army's actions during the Revolution: "The soldiers who had taken oath for the police stat (called the "People's Democracy") could not be expected

to side with the Revolution as organized units. Most commanders were people without backbones, because only such were able to hold leading positions in the police state. On Oct. 24, only police were deployed against the ~~Kranitz~~ Freedom Fighters. Most of the police handed over their arms voluntarily. By the time the military would have been deployed, the Revolution was so strong that there would have ensued a bitter fratricidal civil war, had the army resisted the Revolutionaries. The soldiers realized that honest citizens were in the Revolution as Freedom Fighters. - As a consequence the military lapsed into passivity and refused to obey orders. "

D. Russian Troops

When respondent was told that some people say that Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848 he agrees to some extent:-
"It is true, the Hungarians hated the Russians already, but they hated them even more from 1945 because of the innumerable atrocities committed by Russian troops, and because of their overall behavior as ruthless conquerors. After 1945 only a Soviet units were seen because they kept the Russian troops in barracks in forests away from populated sections and areas of the nation. Many others were in civilian clothes, and became advisors and checking experts."

When asked for his opinion of the Russians before they actually entered Hungary, respondent replied:
"I thought that they were uneducated, primitive people who lived in ~~in~~ misery. I thought that they were hired men and that their country expected nothing good of them."

The following were respondent's actual experiences with the Russian army in 1945: "The Russians fought only if they had vodka. The Russian soldiers were usually yellow when they were sober, and they were willing to face death only when they were drunk."

Changes in respondent's attitude since 1945 are expressed in the following words: "Looting, raping, and every other kind of primitive, savage behavior was so characteristic of the Russians in 1945 that another century would be necessary to erase the bad memor-

ies from the minds of the Hungarian people. I felt sorry for the individual soldiers because I knew they were also victims of a regime of terror, and they could not help having been brought up in a savage way. I treated the prisoners of war who were captured by our boys very well."

Asked about what Russian troops stationed in Hungary before the Revolution were like, respondent said he didn't have any personal experience with these troops, certainly not more than the average Hungarian. Respondent referred to his brother Gergely, who had ample experience with Russian troops. This interviewer decided to have a separate interview with ~~Gergely~~ Gergely, on this and related questions.

Asked about the attitudes and actions of the Russian soldiers during the Revolution, respondent has this to say: "In the Corvin Block area our men captured 17 Russian tanks, that is to say, the crews became our prisoners. It was our common experience that the Russian soldiers were very reluctant to climb out of the tanks. They were very much afraid, and all of them trembled when forced to climb out. It seems that their heads were stuffed full of all kinds of stories of horror because they were so afraid. The Russian officers were greatly surprised when we handed back their revolvers. They still didn't believe their eyes when they received good food and were treated as human beings, and when neither shouted at nor beaten. In most cases we did not hold them for more than half a day, but returned them to the Russians. The interesting thing was that about half of them didn't want to return, and we had to order them, and even to force ~~some~~ quite a few of them to go back. We had to do this when the armistice was declared. One of them ~~we~~ even cried that he would rather die than return. He and the others who wanted to stay all said they would rather fight for freedom than go back."

Regarding differences between officers and enlisted men, respondent said that the ones who wanted to stay were all enlisted men. Not one officer wanted to stay.

Asked about differences in age, respondent replied that they all were young.

Concerning the Russians captured, respondent said there were none who surrendered as individuals by themselves, or at least this could not be determined. The most usual ~~method~~ method of capturing a tank

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was that the Freedom Fighters damaged it so that it was disabled and slowed up or motionless. But there were also cases in the Corvin Block area where a Russian tank just stopped and the Freedom Fighters surrounded it and shouted a demand for surrender.

(Respondent was not very clear about the capturing of the Russian soldiers. No doubt what he said was a sincere attempt to answer the questions. However, it appears that most tanks were captured in a portion of the Corvin block which was not under the personal observation of respondent. He says he usually didn't have much time to ask the boys how they captured the Russians. He was much more concerned on how to deal with them so as to influence things for the better.)

Respondent ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ said he had heard of several ~~cases~~ cases in other parts of Hungary where Russian troops actually surrendered and fought on the side of the Hungarians. Above all, he mentioned the area of the Bukk ~~XXXXXXXX~~ mountains, the area of Pápa, ~~AND~~ the city of Győr.

A. Secret Police

Respondent holds this view of the Secret Police:
"If some one wanted to become an AVO he had to be recommended by at least four or five completely reliable AVO people. I ~~XXXX~~ leafed through quite a few AVO files at the Police Headquarters, and I saw in every file at least four or five references. I also learned by studying these files and by talking to some people who knew something about the AVO that the references were held responsible if the AVO man concerned became a breakdown case. - These AVO men were usually country boys, village bumpkins who were half educated people, unlimited personal ambitions. They were gold bricks who shirked any type of hard work. --They earned three to five times as much as a skilled worker. - They were gold bricks, sadists, bums, people without conscience, without a trace of human sympathy. - They had special departments for prisoner interrogation and these were the worst. Also they had special departments for intelligence work."

Asked whether he or his family or friends had had any personal experience with AVO men, respondent said: "I knew one decent fellow who didn't want to carry out hideous crimes. He let several good people know of their imminent arrest, but this was discovered and he was demoted to a policeman in 1952. -The ones we had captured in the Corvin block area behaved in a way that the AVO could not be proud of. Most of them were pretty yellow. My two brothers dealt more with

them and they can tell much more about these prisoners."

Asked whether he had ever been arrested or deported, or whether any of his relatives suffered from the AVH, respondent answered: "One of my brothers was interned without a sentence. He was a prisoner for 14 months and suffered a great deal. He was suspected of having attempted to flee to the West. - My father was bothered again and again in his sick bed, and attempts were made to force him to appear in court so that they could sentence him for delay in delivering agricultural products. At last, all doctors knowing of my father's illness testified that he was in such a condition that he must ~~not~~ not leave his bed because of his heart ailment. So, the Communist judges came and sat in his room, and sentenced him. All the seven children surrounded the bed, and most of us cried, When our ~~bearded~~ bearded patriarch-like father was sentenced by the scum of the earth. A few months later my father died, under the impact of no doubt

the humiliation he had suffered at the hands of those Reds. As his six sons carried the casket as pallbearers, I decided that when the moment ~~comes~~ comes that I can do something that this reign of terror cease I will offer my life. My five brothers came to the same conclusion. It was at my father's grave that our participation in the Revolution actually began."

"Had we ourselves not been bothered by the AVH and the Communist power I still think that I, for one, would have participated in the Revolution, but this way our participation was even more anyway, personal

Regarding any ~~known~~ knowledge the respondent has of knowing any AVH men who wanted to leave the organization, he answered: "The policeman I mentioned above who had been an AVH man before was so good to us that he told us on Nov. 10 not to return home any more from then on, or we would be captured by the AV

When respondent was reminded that this was not a case where an AVH man left the organization on his own volition, he had this information to add: "Actually it was impossible to leave the ranks of the AVH. Such people knew too much, and the organization could not afford to have any one leave and possibly betray them, so they were either forced to remain, or

the AVH
~~they~~/found a way to liquidate them. They had methods to do away with anybody if so desired." (Respondent gives a loud, bitter laugh and speaks even more loudly than usual) - "Take that human meat-grinder on the bank of the Danube, or just a little convenient bullet, or the case of some one who leaves and never returns -- the AVH had its well developed methods to do away with people."

Respondent does not want to see AVH men hanged when Hungary is independent; - "To the mines with them, with all of them - and they should work in the mines under the same conditions their prisoners had to endure. Courts should decide how long each one of the should work in the mines. The ones who have human blood on their hands should stay there for long enough so ~~that~~ that they perish in the mines. Others should ~~receive~~ receive lighter ~~sentences~~ sentences, according to the findings in their trials. But they should not escape the mines. They should learn what it is to be of the receiving end of their methods."

Asked about his feelings towards the regular police as compared to his attitude towards the AVH, respondent was very generous: "The difference is ~~it~~ as between heaven and earth. The regular police dealt only with ~~it~~ minor felonies, and were interested chiefly in fines that would increased the public revenue.

The police also dealt with economic infractions of the law, such as work or deliveries of crops, on farms, that was overdue. They even ~~dealt~~ dealt with petty cases such as failure of a citizen to keep clean his part of the street in front of his house. But the ~~police~~ had nothing to do with the crimes of the AVH, and their wages were also much below those of the AVH."

Respondent had good recollections about the role of the regular police during the Revolution: "They behaved very well. There were many places where they handed over their weapons at first demand. Others just kept their arms and came over to fight on our side. Some fought even in uniform, I know of a conspecific case of resistance only in one instance. The commander of a crew in the 9th district of Budapest was a dyed-in-the-wool Communist. ~~He~~ He forced his crew to resist. (This was either ~~on~~ Oct. 26 or 27). Freedom Fighters blasted the gate of his build-

ing with an anti-tank gun. When they forced their way into the building, the crew surrendered, and so did the commander. - The members of the regular police were much better than the AVH, because they were much among the people, and were not isolated in their own world as were the AVH people. The police really behaved as our brothers and sons and neighbors, as people tried to appeal to them ~~the~~

in the first few days of the Revolution. - 'Are you shooting at your father, at your brothers?!' - people asked policemen again and again when the fighting started. And be sure this moved the hearts of most of them. It took the rigorous year long training of the AVH and their higher wages, and their methods of intimidation, to force people to remain on the side of oppression."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next Few Years.

Respondent's views on the next few years are quite dark : " The people of Hungary will be skinned and exterminated in great numbers. Retaliations of all sorts, jail sentences, slave labor, and so on, will weaken the Hungarian people so, that they will have no strength to start another revolution like the recent one. Every leader in the Hungarian Revolution who can be identified will be liquidated so as not to leave any one ~~with~~ about who has experience in expressing the free will of the people in ~~forceful~~ ~~ways~~ forceful ways. The Communists are happy that so many thousands of Freedom Fighters have left Hungary. " - (Asked if Communists do not object to resistance persons fleeing to the Free World, respondent answered:) - "Of course, they would rather see us dead, or in jails. But still they prefer to see us out of their countries rather than to be at large within their territories ready to revolt again.

The Communists ~~just~~ fear all the ones who remained in Hungary and this is why they would like to liquidate them all."

Asked what can be expected outside Hungary, respondent speculates as follows: "One cannot expect anything from the West because it overestimates the Soviets. The West ~~knows~~ ~~that~~ the Russian soldiers, ~~doesn't realize~~

do not want to fight and the West is afraid of a war. Whatever the West does, it always seems to think that a war might break out. The United Nations might do something. In fact it still could save Hungary, but I am afraid it will not. May the Lord show that I am wrong. Sometimes I have hopes, but at other times I feel without hope.

Respondent doesn't think that anything short of independence could be acceptable: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
 "The Hungarian people have demonstrated enough to show what they want. They could have stopped ~~and~~ resistance and gained a compromise in their demands but they would rather have died than surrender to some even liberalized form of Communism. How can one know that a liberalized form of Communism does

not again become a severe one? - In 1953, under Imre Nagy we had such a liberalized version of Communism and then they said that all of this was a mistake, and returned to well proven methods of terror. The Hungarian people would be afraid of a half way solution because they would know that all their gains could be abolished overnight again. If the Russian troops leave Hungary, that is sufficient, for the people by themselves can take care of everything else and without any difficulties. If our boys were able to deal with Soviet tanks, if small boys were not afraid to shoot at Russian infantry and at AVO with sling shots (respondent laughed aloud) be sure they will be able to handle Kadar and his so-called regime in a matter of hours!"

Asked about the means whereby these hopes may be realized, respondent repeats what he said: "I told you all it takes is the withdrawal of the Russian troops. How could that be effected? The United Nations should do the same as it did in the case of Egypt. Didn't the French and the English pull out of Egypt? Why can't the Russians do the same? The British and the French didn't withdraw on their own volition, but were forced by the United Nations. The Russians should also be forced!"

Concerning the possibility of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, respondent said: "Of course I do not want a war. Our revolution was the best and safest way to prevent a third World War from breaking out. Had we succeeded in our fight, the other nations, the Polish, the Czechs, the Rumanians, the East Germans, would have followed suit and the many nationalities within the Soviet Union and the Soviet Empire would have fallen apart. That is what I want, and that is what we wanted."

Regarding other means, respondent referred to a statement made two paragraphs above where he said he expects the United Nations to act towards Hungary as it did in the case of Egypt.

B. Hopes in Retrospect

Respondent did not have a rosy picture in his mind about Hungary's prospects (experiences or hopes?) during the last eight or ten years: "All I knew was that Communism could not last forever. 'Poplars do not reach the skies.'" (Interviewers note: the sentence about poplars is a very often quoted Hungarian saying. Many Hungarian roads are flanked by tall slender poplars. Tall as they are, perhaps the tallest trees in Hungary, people have seen that even their height is limited, and they have the firm belief that everything on this earth has its limits.)

"I was too busy eking out a living for my family, and fighting with the fault-finding, petty Communist authorities in our town, that I did not have much time to meditate about this question. The little hope I had was placed in the United Nations, or internal changes within the Soviet Union."

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Independent Hungary

When respondent was asked what he would want an independent Hungary to be like, he said with great emphasis, as something that should be completely self-evident: "A republic, a democracy, freedom in every segment of life on high as well as low levels of society. In the economic field, a free enterprise system."

B. Details on Economy

Respondent thinks that it is very hard to answer whether Hungary should emphasize agriculture or industry. The latter is ~~backward~~ backward, and should be developed, but at the same time Hungary must not neglect agriculture, which is the foundation of its economic life.

Respondent thought that light industry should be stressed, one of the reasons being that Hungary does not have enough raw materials to supply heavy industry. Respondent explained he is for as much economic integration as possible. He does not like ~~restrictions~~ restrictions and based on national boundaries and would like to see economic and political cooperation between all countries of Europe, and of the whole world, for that matter. Along this line, he says that West Germany could certainly take care of heavy industry in that part of ~~the world~~.the world.

Respondent thought that farm implements and light types of goods should be particularly emphasized in industrial development. He said that Hungary was ~~back~~ backward in this field, and that the poor farmers work much harder and longer than in countries where agriculture is more mechanized, and that Hungarian skill and devotion and love for farming should produce wonders if people have good farm equipment. He thought that, first, horse drawn implements should be manufactured because most of Hungarian farm power is ~~in~~ from horses. Following this, mechanization of farms should be developed, that is, horses to be replaced by tractors.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Respondent doesn't think it is necessary to give any further explanations, and restricts his answer to a very definite "No!" when he is asked

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ asked whether the government should set a maximum limit to the amount of land any one person or family should own,

When respondent was told about the two kinds of government we mention here, he said that interviewer ~~ka~~ knows him well ~~enough~~ enough to know that he was ready to sacrifice his life on more than one occasion to see ~~like~~ a government based on freedom rise in Hungary. Hence, he explained he shouldn't have to elaborate on that again.

Respondent was definitely not in favor of outlawing the Communist party in an independent Hungary: "If the party were outlawed, it would go underground and some people might have sympathy for them. Just let them play their tricks, and ~~there~~ only difficult ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ is that we will have to defend them from the wrath of the people." - (Respondent laughed as he explained and then he turns quite serious at the end - "We had to do the same in the Revolution, and some times it was very not very easy. It was due to a great many people who kept their heads that we prevented mob rule in the Revolution. This might have happened in some instances, if there had not been some people who stood up (for order and fairness?) For instance, I saw an incident in which some people ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ started kicking around a dead Russian soldier and several ~~XXXXXX~~ persons commented that this is something that ought not to be done, being a case like the jackass who kicked a dead lion, and people were abashed, and stopped!" ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the

C. International ~~Russian~~ Position

Respondent yelled out loud when asked what international position ~~Hungary~~ an independent Hungary should have; "I would like to see ~~an~~ the United States of Europe, or at least, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ a smaller group of states, something like a Danubian Confederation. I lived long enough in Rumania to testify that the Rumanians are very good people, ~~and~~ I liked them and so did most Hungarians living in ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Erdely. The Rumanian peasant is a wonderful person who is good to have as a ~~fa~~ friend. If necessary, he would give you his bed, and sleep on the floor. The trouble is not with the common people, the trouble is with the leaders. I know very well that the common people can get along fine, and that is what I would like to see all over Europe. I was on many

a smuggling trip in Czechoslovakia and I saw that the common people were thinking the right way in that country and in others. The common people of Czechoslovakia had no hatred against the Hungarians in their hearts, certainly not the Slovak people whom I personally met. It is only the bad leaders who hate the other peoples. I bet I could get along with any Rumanian, and I say this because I speak their language, but I do not speak Slovak." 27 B
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When respondent was asked to elaborate on military relations, trade relations, cultural relations, etc he burst out in laughter and said: "Why on earth should we detail anything if it is a United States of Europe?" When this interviewer objected, saying it might not be a United States of Europe, respondent shrugged and commented ~~and~~ "If we speak ideally, we should at least consider a Danubian Federation." -X¹²

This suggestion leads to the next point, namely, the question ~~what~~ of when respondent heard for the first time the idea of a Danubian Federation. Respondent answered: "It was in the beginning of the 1940's that we in the family spoke ~~about~~ about the relations of Hungarians and Rumanians, and father explained to me that Louis Kossuth was for the idea of a Danube Federation of States, and father said that would be the only real solution, and we agreed with him."

Respondent thought that such a federation was desirable, but he preferred a United States of Europe. He thinks it is possible, ~~and~~ he would like to see the leaders chosen from the ranks of the common people because they do not have any animosity in their hearts, or it could be the few outstanding leaders of the type not ~~engaged~~ engaged in feuds and quarrels but of wide friendly relations with all.

Respondent thought that 90% of Hungarians would be for such a solution because they felt that their ancestors lived in amity up to the 19th century with neighboring peoples, and that they could do the same. He explained that Hungarians would be happy to travel to all their loved ones and friends in all cities of historic Hungary. ~~places?~~ places?

"Geographic boundaries are a thing of the past!" said respondent. He added that he crossed those borders illegally so many times that he virtually did not recognize or hardly notice such boundaries anyway.

Respondent does not hesitate a second when he stated he was not content with the present boundaries of Hungary and considers them in no way acceptable. He would like to have territorial adjustments carried out as soon as possible, with the Hungarian populated areas (in other nations?) returned to Hungary, or any other areas which would vote to join Hungary. Of course, he added, he saw no way of doing all this except by plebiscite, and should Hungarians decide they do not want to belong to Hungary so these minorities in foreign lands be left outside of Hungary, if they wish it that way, and should other nationalities decide for Hungary, they should be included in that country. At this point respondent brought up again the ~~importance~~/significance of state boundaries declining and said that in an ideal situation, all Hungarians could live together in one state of a United States of Europe or of a Danubian Federation.

Respondent said he was tremendously interested in the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary, and that the United Nations was created, after all, ~~to defend~~ to defend the rights of such minorities.

In answer to a ~~question~~ further question on this topic, respondent answered that to him, this matter of Hungarian minorities in foreign lands is as important as that of an independent Hungary itself, because after all, it concerns the Hungarian people and that in modern conditions ~~in modern conditions~~ ~~we should~~ we should be more interested in people than in countries and national boundaries.

under

XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. World Events

Respondent had never heard of Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Party Congress before the Revolution.

Respondent had heard the name of Senator McCarthy and he knew the difference between him and General McArthur, but he didn't know what Senator McCarthy was standing for, nor of the work of the Un-American Affairs Committee.

Asked about the fall of Peron, respondent asked: "Was that some statesman in the Far East?"

Respondent knew about Rakosi's private life, that he was always heavily guarded by his henchmen because he was afraid of people, and never dared to show up in public.

B. Sources of Personal Information

During the last ten years in Hungary, respondent obtained most of his information on events from the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe. Respondent explains that the chief reason he bought a large radio for his father was so the latter could listen to the broadcasts of the above station.

C. Word of Mouth.

Respondent said that most of the news he received by word of mouth were of an agricultural nature: "I was farming for over ten years most of the time, while I undertook several other ventures, but above all I was a farmer, and got my news about recent developments from agricultural experts." - Regarding whether the respondent got news of a political nature by word of mouth, he explained that he did only in the sense of people talking about such news over Radio Free Europe, but he added he heard about an inner fight within the Communist party's Central Committee at the 20th Party Congress, and he also says that he also heard many political jokes, by word of mouth.

A.

D. Reading Habits

Respondent said he read newspapers very little. - He read no magazines of political or general nature, only those in the field of lumbering, mainly at the time when he was engaged in that line.

Speaking of books, respondent said he read only Hungarian classics.

Asked what kinds of reading he could find, and whether this met his needs, such as he could find in book stores and libraries, respondent said he was no "bookworm", but a sportsman who read only occasionally, but liked the outdoor life, woods, streams, and walking there around, whenever he had free time available.

Still pressed for some information as to what publication he read occasionally, respondent said that it was Magyar Nemzet: "One needed something for a little information on the domestic scene, and I thought that perhaps Magyar Nemzet, which had a glorious past as a liberal paper, would probably not be lying as much as Szabad Nep, the official party organ. You know, people in our neighborhood looked down on people who read Szabad Nep. The latter paper stood for the Communist party, and anybody who could manage it kept away from the party as much as possible, so people didn't like to read its publication."

Respondent did not read the paper regularly, except once or twice a week, looking for ads of farm equipment of used type in good condition.

Respondent explained that about 60% of the newspaper contents could be accepted, and at least 40% consisted of lies, but he added that from 1950 the situation got worse.

Asked in what ~~areas~~^{fields} the newspaper contents were particularly distrusted by him, respondent answered: "All the news referring to the Western world, the Free World as you call it, were completely unreliable."

Respondent did trust the sports news, and he adds that that not even economic news could be trusted.

Respondent said almost angrily that he did not try to read between the lines, and that he did not find the newspapers to be of any help in ~~gaxx~~ finding out the truth of what was happening, certainly not more than 40% of the contents. Neither the respondent nor any of his relatives or friends read publications from the Soviet Union or other satellites.

Respondent received only very few publications from the ~~x~~ West, and these were usually catalogues. He was tremendously interested in catalogues and all kinds of booklets on farm equipment, trucks, cars. He mentioned two books considered illegal in Hungary, which he read as a young man. One was the ~~Wimtitx~~ Weniti of ~~x~~ Karl May. (When asked if he was mistaken in saying the above book was barred, respondent answered that he remembered very well that it was.) - The other book was one edited by English and American newspaper men, and written about World War II, containing the main events such as Pearl Harbor and others.

3x A 19

Respondent explained, in answer to a question, that he got ~~Wimtitx~~ Weniti from other boys, and that the second book, on World War II: "from a politically reliable but otherwise a very great thief, a driver. That man said about himself that he stole anything that was lighter than a millstone and colder than an ember, and this is how he picked up this book for me."

Asked where he hid the books, respondent answered that the piano was the hiding place. - A few friends of respondent ~~kaxx~~ knew about the book, and looked through it, in his own home, since he never lent it out.

Respondent discussed the book only with his friends.

Asked what happened to proscribed books, found in people's possession, respondent explained that some were destroyed, but he estimated that about 70% of the people hid such publications, or gave them away to such people as had the courage to keep them.

XVI Events Outside Hungary

A. Russia

Asked what the chances are for a change inside Russia, respondent answered: "Very great chances! In my view, disintegration process has to start in Russia. This would be the only real one. A quarrel over the spoils could become a violent fight. The Communist leaders always blame their failures on selected persons--they always find scapegoats. I saw the same ~~humanity~~ situation on the village level in the council of our district, the 20th of Budapest. As people see this happening on the highest level again and again, they lose the little confidence they might have placed in those leaders. One day people have to cheer a person, and the next day people may be forced to denounce the same person, and to call him the enemy of the state, and to pass a resolution that he be condemned to death. Later on, this same person ~~is~~ may be rehabilitated, and he may again become a hero. - People just cannot take such nonsense. Some accept it with cynicism, others are aroused, and others become angry."

Respondent thought that the feelings of the people in Russia about the Communist regime are not very flattering: "~~They~~ They cursed it and are terrorized by it. People just can't stand in the long run the absence of freedom. People realize the lack of freedom cannot create political or cultural or economic progress."

X Respondent was not so sure what way the changes are likely to occur: "They may be gradual, ~~and~~ but I think they are even more likely to be brought about by a Revolution such as ours."

Respondent thought that free elections would spell the doom of Communism: "Communism would be done away with immediately."

Asked what kind of government would then result, respondent replied: "I never thought about this. I don't think it would be a coalition government, including Communists. It would be a strongly liberal one, just the opposition of Communism."

3x B 3.8

Among our co-workers was the police chief of our district and several of his relatives. We smuggled the cigarettes to Szechoslovakia, from where we brought sugar and pieces of clothing (garments? We bartered these for lard and bacon in Hungary, and shipped those to Austria. On such trips I got around quite a bit. - Of course, you know I lived in Rumania for 18 years, and I think that I know and like the Rumanians almost as much as I like the Hungarians."

Speaking of free elections in the countries above, respondent said: "Communism would be doomed in every country if free elections were held under United Nations supervision." - Asked what countries would turn against Communism more easily than others, respondent answered: Aside from Hungary, the countries which are most likely to shake off the Communist yoke at almost a moment's notice are: East Germany, Poland, Szechoslovakia, and Rumania. I think Yugoslavia and Bulgaria would be less in a hurry to reject Communism." - As interviewer tries to obtain more definite statements on this topic, for example, to meet the objection that most Hungarians might ~~misjudge~~ not place so much trust in the Szechoslovakians, respondent met this with the following remarks: "When ~~judging~~ I was on a trip, forming opinions about a people, we must not judge them by their leaders. I told you before of an incident with a Rumanian peasant, ~~who~~ I was on a trip, ~~when~~ He offered his bed ~~with~~ to me saying he would sleep on the floor, following ~~such~~ words by my companion and I that we intended to spend that night in a haystack. This is only one example of the friendly, humane qualities of simple people in Rumania. Also, I received hospitality from many people in Szechoslovakia. - I know that there are too many people in Rumania who are ~~stealing~~ stealing so much from the government. You know, so many Rumanians stole a lot before, particularly from authorities, and since now there is only one authority to steal from, that is, the state, which is hated by everybody, people are now more likely to steal than before, which is much, speaking of Rumania. Still I must add that most Rumanians would prefer freedom rather than wonderful opportunities to steal."

Respondent thought that the highest standard of living ~~was in East Germany and in Czechoslovakia.~~ was in East Germany and in Czechoslovakia. The lowest standards of living were ~~in Hungary, with Rumania, Bulgaria, and Jugoslavia still lower, in that order.~~ in Hungary, with Rumania, Bulgaria, and Jugoslavia still lower, in that order.

C. Poland

This is how respondent summarizes his opinions on the present situation of Poland: "The present Polish government is only a Russian puppet, but a special sort. Under the effects of the Hungarian revolution, the Russians are willing to yield very much to Gomulka and to grant him any ~~concessions~~ concessions that are possible without making Poland actually independent. But all of this is intended as an eye wash to the Free World.

Respondent's interpretation of the Polish developments since the autumn of 1956 were: "There is no ~~genuine~~ genuine change in the Russian attitude towards Poland. The Communists are forced to pretend for purposes of propaganda that they allow very much to the Polish nation, but in fact they allow only as much as can be done without harming their regular policy."

Speaking of future ~~possibilities~~ possibilities for Poland, respondent said: "It is true that Poland is in a much better situation than before. Some Poles, however, see what the Russians are actually up to, but others are gullible enough to think this is a natural development of Gomulkaism, and that the Russians will yield more and more. - But I would say that Gomulka cannot last long. As ~~long~~ as the rulers of the Soviet Union see that long Gomulka is serving their policies, they will tolerate them, but the minute that they see he is becoming dangerous ~~to~~ to these policies, he will be purged, and the Russians will find somebody else sufficiently subservient to them. (Interviewers note: Respondent made these statements before he knew anything about the recent Russian purges, including Molotov ~~and Malenkov, and Kaganovich~~ and Malenkov, and Kaganovich)

Respondent insisted that his opinions had not changed in the last five or six months.

According to the respondent, the Polish developments has a great effect on Hungary before Oct. 1956, ever since the Posnan riots, he explains. "You know, Hungarians are supposed to be always anxious to show that they are second to none. So when the news came of the valiant resistance of the Poles, the Hungarians were fired by the feeling that they could do the same. They wanted to be sure ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxx~~ that they had just as much courage as the Poles."

4x A 7

effects of the Polish developments

Asked about ~~during~~ during and after October, 1956, respondent answered: "We were too busy to think of the Poles, during the Revolution, at least we who actually took up arms. This is a question similar to the one I ~~was~~ received from my audience after one of my lectures on Hungary-- namely, what our relations with India and Nehru were during the Revolution. Well, we were too busy to think of this matter. We had our hands full every five minutes with ~~the~~ the immediate demands of the next half hour! It was difficult to raise our minds much farther than that!"

Respondent had no knowledge of the Polish "thaw" before the Posnan riots. Respondent thought that the Hungarian people ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ obtained news of this the same way he had.

Asked whether he would have preferred the Hungarian ~~Revolution~~ Revolution going the way the Polish developments had, respondent asked interviewer ~~again~~ to repeat the question, then he said: "No, this "our Revolution" was the real historic ~~xxxx~~ action. History will judge, I strongly feel, that the Hungarian Revolution showed the real picture of the sentiments of the common people in so-called Communist countries. It was the common people, and please tell that to all the people in ~~the~~ the United States, who made the Revolution. It was the Falabu Janos, the Csankakezv Joskas, and the Pongratzes ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ who braved death to break the chains ~~of~~ around their nation! This should bestir the world not to tolerate Russian imperialism any longer. and not see the Hungarian people *again* bled white in the defense of Europe, *in* the 13th century against Tartar onslaughts, and throughout the

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15th, 16th, and 17th centuries against the attacks of the Turks. -Now, the Hungarians did this once more and we really should receive some ~~xxx~~ help from the United Nations. "

D. Yugoslavia

Respondent thought that Tito and Yugoslavia have been influential in Eastern Europe: "Tito was closely watched by people in Hungary, and they said he was brewing all kinds of potions and poisons in his devil's kitchen. They predicted that a change would begin in Yugoslavia."

Respondent had a very original idea on who was the originator of "National Communism": "No, Tito was not ~~xt~~ the inventor of National Communism. Nazism was actually national communism. It was also based on the rule of terror and the state was made God, so ~~+~~ say that Nazism ~~wax~~ actually created national communism. Tito works under Communistic guise, with national aims, so he is not too different from ~~Nazis~~ Nazism"

The general view of Tito held by respondent was: "He is a dictator, who is fond of being personally ~~ad~~ adored, and who has developed a great personal cult. He keeps his staff satisfied so that they serve him eagerly, but this is only the selected few. He is a shrewd politician who ~~knows~~ knows well enough that if two are fighting, a third one may take advantage of it."

Respondent's attitude towards "National Communism" is ~~not~~ quite critical: "In essence it is just the same as in International Communism. It is not based on the consent of the governed, so it cannot be good."

Respondent said he had not been able to watch events so closely that he could say something worthwhile about Tito's relations with other Eastern European nations. - If He thought of Tito's relations with Russia, that~~th~~ they are the relations of bad friends Russia is aware of Tito's turncoat role, and hates him, but has to put up with him." - As to his relations to the West, respondent said: "The West needs

END 4x3

Tito's friendship, so that it can have an insight into Soviet policies. Tito needs the West because he wants economic aid, and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ also in the hope of learning some of the West's political tricks and methods. "

Respondent's ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ attitude towards Tito in general is: "It is despised by the broad masses because it still is very far from freedom, and because ~~XX~~ all people like to be free, and work out their destinies according to their own ideas, and not as it is prescribed in Communistic ideology."

Respondent thinks that Tito is popular in Yugoslavia: "People ~~x~~ think that it is still better to live under a Titoist regime than under a Muscovite type of Communism. I heard quite a few Hungarian peasants speak of Tito, peasants who had come from Yugoslavia. Whenever they compared Tito's rule with that of Rakosi, they said that Tito was at least not a lackey of Moscow. It happened to one of these old peasants that he refused to pay taxes ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ on an old cow and old dog of his. When he was summoned to the Council House, and required to pay the delinquent taxes, he said that neither the cow nor the ~~XX~~ dog amounted to anything anymore, and he ~~x~~ keeps them as relics because he had brought them from Yugoslavia where the great Tito is ruling."

This is respondent's knowledge of intr internal conditions in Yugoslavia: "Living standards are very low, and freedom of speech is curtailed. ~~x~~ Jobs are plentiful, but wages are low."

E. Middle East

Respondent was inclined to bring the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt into the discussion about the Hungarian Revolution? "It made worse the outcome of the "Hungarian" Revolution. But the Revolution did not depend on the outcome of the Anglo-F Anglo-French invasion, nor on its o complications o in the United Nations. Suez Canal Zone was an ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

international channel, and the British and French wanted to control its future role. They thought they had to apply force in order to save it from being the tool of the power ambitions of Egypt." - When respondent was asked to give his opinion, he was reluctant to answer, and said that he actually didn't study the question well enough to come up with an answer, but finally said: "Seeing that the British and French had to withdraw, I don't think they acted rightly in attacking Egypt. Of course, I am thinking of the fact that they harmed our Revolution."

Respondent declined to express himself on the Israel invasion of Egypt.

Respondent thinks that Egypt had no right to nationalize the Canal.

Respondent already has offered his opinion as to whether the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt had any effect on developments in Hungary.

F. West Germany

Respondent's opinion was that the living standard in West Germany was very high.

Respondent thought that people who said Germany was dangerous and might start another war, ~~may~~ have a point: "Maybe the Germans are explosive might but if they start anything, it will be only on the side of the West. They have plenty of reason to feel not very friendly with the Communists and Russia. Nobody likes to see half of his country in slavery."

Respondent said he was in favor of West German re-
armament: "I am all for it. A well armed West German could function as an effective force that can be mobilized at a moment's notice, and that is keeping the Russians on their toes, and make them think twice before they attack the West."

Respondent thought that the West German army is weaker than that of Britain, because also has its big fleet, and ~~like~~ at the same time respondent thinks ~~the~~ the West German army is stronger than the French army. - Respondent guessed that the term of

4 x 11

Asked what the United States should do now for the peoples and nations of Eastern Europe, respondent answered: "United States should realize that Eastern Europe is as much a part of the Free World as is Egypt and it should do as least as much for the freedoms of ~~people~~ nations in Eastern Europe as it did in the case of Egypt. If the United States was able to order its own allies, through the United Nations, to withdraw, it should be able to do the same to its arch enemy."

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The following are respondent's views of the actual foreign policy of the United States: "It is too conservative. It is not easy to describe it, but I would say that it is not exactly afraid of war, but it reckons too much with such a danger, so much that it assumes an almost isolationist attitude so far as Eastern Europe is concerned. The abandonment of Hungary's cause meant a terrible blow to the United States' prestige in the world, and it encouraged the Russians to do as they like. America sat on the fence, while Russia dealt out genocide, and today the same continues, perhaps on not such a violent level, but it goes on just the same."

Questioned as to whether the United States should give economic aid to the present governments of Eastern European countries, respondent answered: "The fruits of any help given go ultimately to the Soviet Union. Only the temporary or momentary help goes to the satellite people, but it is still so much needed that it is better to give, and all the more since through this the United States can establish more contacts with the people."- Respondent thought exactly the same insofar as Hungary was concerned.

Respondent thought there had been no changes in his attitude on what the United States should do since he came to this country: "I said in our Corvinist Declaration of last January 11 that we did not expect the United States to go to war for Hungary, but we expected it to do the same including setting up and dispatching a police force as it did in the case of Egypt." (Interviewers note: The defenders of the Corvin Block call themselves Corvinists and respondent got together with approximately 20 of them in Camp Milmer, New Jersey, on the Jan. 11 just mentioned, and they prepared a Declaration which was shown to this interviewer).

Respondent said that Hungarians would like to see more Western visitors in their country, and to have them see how the rule of terror operates. Interest by Americans in Hungarian freedom seems to be slackening, he thought. He said trips to Hungary by many Americans would revive this interest. All visitors should try to see, not only what is shown to them, but other things that might be concealed or off the usual tourist routes or calls, with the visitors viewing these incognito, that is looking like ordinary people rather than foreign tourists. The visitors should ask to be permitted to see Communist prisons, because that would improve prison conditions for a while, at least.

Hungarians would like to ~~receive~~ receive Western books and periodicals, respondent thought, if there would be no risks involved in receiving them. Such publications should ~~first~~ be sent to libraries, and to editors of newspapers and ~~magazines~~ magazines, and to colleges
above all

Respondent thinks that people would like to hear of Hungarian ~~refugees~~ refugees as much as possible, and the role of Hungarian exiles in supplying them with any information ~~it~~ would be appreciated.

Regarding the Marshall plan, respondent observed: "I know very little of it. I know that it gave economic help to Western European countries, and that Soviet occupied countries had to protest against it because Moscow felt that such countries would have too much contact with the West if they received aid, and Moscow also feared that the West would ask for something in return." Respondent's opinion is that the Marshall plan was a good one.

The motives respondent ascribes to the United States in organizing and financing ~~the~~ the Marshall plan ~~the~~ were ~~the following motives:~~ "Raising the living standards of those peoples so as to make human life more bearable, ~~and~~ ^{for} Americans knew well that if a country was more prosperous ~~it~~ the people are more content, and the United States wanted to save these countries from Communism by peaceful means."

The United States fought in Korea because: " It wanted to stop the Communist tide.", said the respondent.

When respondent was asked whether the United States had any other reason for fighting in Korea, he was very reluctant to answer, but after much prodding he gave this answer: "It saw better business in Korea than in Hungary. This is why it helped the Koreans and did not help the Hungarians, for it should have been ~~anxious~~ anxious to stem the Communist tide in Hungary as well as in Korea."

I. The United Nations

Respondent thought that the United Nations could have affected the situation in Hungary very favorably during the last months of 1956: " As I said before, the United Nations should have done the same in Hungary as it did in Egypt. There it prevented war just as it saved the freedom of the Egyptian people. After all, what was the United Nations created for, but to prevent brute force from being the decisive factor in world politics?!"

Here are respondent's views on United Nations action during the autumn and winter of 1956. -"The U.N. passed many resolutions and carried out none. Its swift action could have prevented the invasion of the Soviet army on Nov. 4. An ultimatum would have saved Hungary, and if the ultimatum had not been obeyed, the United Nations police force should have been sent to Hungary."

Respondent was hopeful that there are possibilities of effective United Nations action for Hungary in the foreseeable future: " I hope that world public opinion under such a pressure that it will have to act. The U.N. doesn't want to lose all respect and confidence of the nations of the world. If the U.N. does not save Hungary from Communist oppression, ~~the~~ it will go down in history as did the League of Nations, a plous debating society."

will put
the U.N.

General Eisenhower. "In Hungary, I thought he was a military man, and a great military leader. I hoped that he would create order and that he would arrange things in statesmanlike fashion. But now I see that General MacArthur would have been the right man in such a position in times of decision. I think now that Eisenhower is too timid. He is not enough of a soldier, let alone of a military leader."

Secretary-General Hammarskjold of the United Nations "I really don't know what to think of him, because if he had wanted, he could have helped Hungary very much, particularly by going over to Hungary personally when he was asked to do so. And now, even now, when they permit him to go to Hungary, he does not go. Does he think so little of himself that he is afraid that he will see nothing in Hungary except what the Communists want him to see?! He ought to have had a ~~fact-finding~~ fact-finding committee and gone to Hungary. His mere presence would have fanned the flames of resistance to a degree that his report to the United Nations would have been so convincing that I think that the U.N. at last would have done something for Hungary."

Secretary of State J.F. Dulles: "He is an old fox of a statesman. I think that he was for the Hungarian Revolution all the time, but he was not able to do things single-handed. I wish he could have his way to a greater degree."

Eden: "I know too little of Eden to be able to speak of him."

Truman: "He would have been a better man in these critical times than Eisenhower is. That old man from the country understands the plight of people in trouble, and he has the guts to act."

M "That shrewd, foxy Armenian has the brains. He is the shrewdest among the Communist leaders of Russia. He finds the right formulas for describing evil things and acts in nice words, but he is as ~~evil~~ evil as the others.
(Interviewers note: When respondent started his statement about M he laughed ~~aloud~~ aloud, and spoke in a way suggesting he knew this fellow very well. This interviewer spoke with respondent several times before about M who is also of Armenian descent, like respondent. This interview took place before the shift in the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, and so the stand of respondent was not influenced by ~~staying~~ staying in power.)

Bevan: "You mean the French politician?"

Khrushchev: "He is also a dictator, and you know what I mean. He is a persuaded Communist, with limited intellectual abilities. He is as ruthless as Stalin, but he is foxier and less afraid. At least, he is less afraid to move around."

Tito: (Interviewers note: We heard enough of him in the previous ~~chapter~~ chapter.)

Peron: "Tell me who he was, please."

Molotov: "He is just as much of a low scoundrel as the others, but he is a good military expert, and a good strategist, above all."

Ollenuer: "He is some German fellow, isn't he?"

Churchill: "He is one of the leading statesmen of the world. He stood on the side of the Hungarian people. I wish he had been in power."

XVIII ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE
ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of Escapees

Here are some of respondent's views on the people who escaped from Hungary: "Between Oct. 29 and Nov. 4, it were Communists who escaped from Hungary. Many of these remained in Austria, but some managed to go overseas. There were also a group of adventurers who looked for better living conditions abroad, who had waited for just such an opportunity. They used the opening provided by the freedom Hungary had won in those few days."

"From Nov. 4 ~~until~~ Nov. 13, most people escaping had been political prisoners under the Communists, or who had some politically very conspicuous positions taken up ^{which they either assumed} ~~had~~ or were ~~entrusted~~ entrusted with during the Revolution, and also some of the more timid fighters, who gave up hope too early."

After Nov. 12, the following groups of people escaped: ~~ix~~

1. "The ones who actually participated in the fight for freedom.
2. "Such people who fought intellectually by taking up positions in their capacity as writers, newspaper men, radio broadcasters, and political leaders.
3. "People who were well known sympathizers with the Revolution.
4. "People who feared the AVO's retaliation, even though they had not been open ~~or~~ active workers for the Revolution, but who nevertheless believed the AVO might suspect them.
5. "People who simply could no longer endure Communism, and therefore took this opportunity to flee.
6. "People who wanted to enjoy the advantages they hoped to find in freer countries, such persons however being very few."

These are respondent's views on those who stayed behind: "There were some heroic fellows who knew that at best they would suffer ten or fifteen years in the mines, and at worst a rope or a score of bullets, but they still staid because they thought that they still might have some chance to help the people ~~if~~ whereas abroad they might not. They would rather face the dangers at home, and die there, than be ragged derelicts wandering around in foreign lands!"

Many people who helped the Revolution only secretly hoped that they would not be discovered, and stayed in Hungary. Others who fought ~~xx~~ bravely and openly still trusted the solidarity of their neighbors and acquaintances, and thought they would not be betrayed by them to the AVO, and also stayed at home."

"There were others who perhaps didn't ~~lift~~ lift a finger, during the Revolution, however, sympathizin with the cause, but who now became more ~~xx~~ stubborn and thought that they would passively resist the Communists, and by doing so, they would keep themselves and their lived ones and the country's future alive."

This is how respondent feels about them: "I wish I had had a chance to stay at home. Heaven knows we were more than reluctant to flee our beloved country as I was a peasant for ten years in spite of my education and ~~x~~ in spite of all what the name Pongratz stood for, I could have continued as before, had I not been so well-known a fighter in the Corvin block and had I not been appointed to be one of the leaders of the police in Budapest. Now I am a little respected unknown worker and one whose language is not understood, and ~~z~~ one whose feelings are little understood. I can do very little ~~xxxxxxx~~ here for my country. I have become a wanderer of the highways. If there were another revolution, heaven knows I would be among the first to join forces with the fighters once more."

When this interviewer asked this respondent for an example of a person he knew who decided to remain in Hungary even though he knew he had an opportunity to escape, respondent replied: "I could ~~name~~ name a few who were influence to stay by having loved ones who they had to take care of, but I would rather cite an interesting example - One of the outstanding Revolutionary leaders, in whom anarchist tendencies won the upper hand, a leader who was actually well intentioned, but the fever of the Revolution made a kind of soldier of fortune of him, a person who did not respect democratic principles and procedures because he wanted to assert his power, even though for a good cause. Well, this person remained at home although he knew that he would be executed. He still preferred to die a martyr than to being kicked around here (or) abroad, because he feared that his anarchistic behavior during the Revolution would make him an unwanted person in the West. He feared that he had

lost his credit in the eyes of most Freedom Fighters who knew of him --and he was right. I certainly respect him for having voluntarily chosen death."

In respondent's opinion, the people in Hungary expect very much from the escapees, refugees: "The people expect from the refugees, first, preparation of the liberation of the nation by influencing the trends in the Free World by convincing more and more segments of the population of the Free World that they had to apply pressure upon their leaders to see that justice be done, and that they force the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Hungary. The people expect the exiles to stay ready for a new uprising in which the latter would be expected to again take part."

End 6xA

Assuming that they had a chance to come to the West, respondent thought that 30% of the people would nevertheless have stayed in Hungary, and that part of the population would have consisted mainly of older people who feel that old trees cannot be transplanted into foreign soil, and ~~such that adhere to~~ the soil so much that they consider it treason, ~~xxxxxxx~~ so to speak, to leave Hungary, because they are afraid that the enemies would then completely destroy even the name, ~~xxxxxx~~ Hungarian."

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B. Exile Organizations and Individuals

While respondent was still in Hungary, he was aware only of the existence of the Hungarian National Council. He also knew of ~~xx~~ Ferenc Nagy and of Tibor Eckhardt. He knew that these two politicians were doing something for the Hungarians by writing about them, and speaking to ~~xxxxx~~ the authorities. But he did not know just how much they ~~xxxx~~ could do. He did not know how the Hungarian National Council was organized and functioning, or just what it was doing for the liberation of Hungary."

Asked ~~xx~~ whether he had any contacts with such organizations or individuals since leaving Hungary, respondent said that he was twice in the office of the National Council, and that he spoke there to Istvan Barankovics.

Respondent didn't know anything of the Assembly of Captive European Nations. He did not know anything of the M.H.B.K. nor of the Liberal Democratic Union. Respondent had heard of the Christian Democratic Union, but nothing more. He knew of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in exile, and he heard that it was a Socialist organization. He did not know of the International Peasants Union, nor of the ~~Smk~~ Socialists Union of Central and Eastern Europe, nor of the American Hungarian Federation. He had heard of the magazine but nothing else, only its mere existence. He knew of Monsignor but nothing in particular. He knew that ~~Kr~~ Ferenc Nagy was writing ~~xx~~ something about the Hungarian question, and he heard that Tibor Eckhardt was quite a clever politician. Respondent didn't know anything about Paul Auer He knew of Imor Kovacs

but not much more than his name.

He did not know ~~of~~ anything of Imre S
Respondent knew of Charles P that he was a Socialist leader, but nothing ~~mix~~ more. He had never heard the name of Lazslo Taubinger and he knew of M that he had been a ~~ex~~ clever statesman during the war, but he heard that now, abroad, he was longing for his estates. Respondent had heard of Z P but no more than his name. The same is true about Istvan Barankovics. Now, after having ~~h~~ talked twice about the latter man, respondent thought he was the most ~~xx~~ realistic ~~ly~~ politician, but he added that he might think the same of some others if he had spoken to them also. Respondent did not know anything about Monsignor J H

He knew of Bela F
but not much more than his name. He had never heard of General Zako He did not know of General F B He knew of Otto of Hapsburg as a pretender to the ~~was~~ throne, but he did not think much of him. Respondent thought that the ~~sssss~~ democratic form of government was best if it ~~ww~~ was in a republic (rather than in a monarchy?) Respondent knew of Admiral Horthy that he was a very well intentioned and energetic leader of the nation against Communism, but felt that Horthy had little interest in democratic ~~ix~~ institutions.

Speaking of what the exiles have tried to do for Hungary, respondent said he had so little knowledge of their actions that he would not be able to comment on this intelligently.

C. Redefectors.

~~Respondent~~ Respondent said he had not met any redefectors but he had heard of some, and thought they were terrible fools for having returned to Hungary, whereas they could have kept enjoying freedom abroad.

Respondent thought that the Communists had done all they could to entice refugees home so that such people could not plot against them from abroad. He explained that the Communists ~~planned~~ planned the overthrow of the czar from abroad, and that they now fear that the same might happen to them, so they try to do away with all those who might repeat this process.

D. Exile Tasks

Respondent thought that the people in Hungary would like to have news of the exiles - that is, the refugees--how they are getting along, and whether they are keeping in mind the goals of the Revolution, and living up to the ideals which they set and fought for in those days.

Respondent thought that they (the people of Hungary?) should know that the exiles receive very little help from the nations of the Free World and that they can influence events very little, because the Free World see in the exiles no more than some poor refugees who perhaps ought to be ~~helped~~ helped in a charitable way, but not much more than this.

The exiles, says respondent, should become so well versed in the language of their new country that they could gain positions in which they ~~can~~ can learn a lot and serve the interests of Hungary's liberation. He thought that the exiles, in addition to working for Hungary's freedom, should also look ahead to what will be needed after freedom is won, and be ready to serve their country then in specific and responsible ways.

Respondent thought that he personally could do very much if he had the chance, and received the education ~~of which he was deprived in Hungary~~ of which he was deprived in Hungary. But, he remarks sadly it seems the Americans do not take ~~much~~ any more interest in his education, than did the Hungarian Communists.

Continued& in spite of this, he thinks that he will work and struggle so hard that in a number of years he will obtain the education he seeks, through his own efforts.

Respondent has joined the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation from the start, and he has been one of those on the staff of General Bela Kiraly.

Respondent said he would like to see both older and recent exiles in the above organization.

Speaking of various Hungarian political parties, respondent explained that he didn't ~~xxx~~ think much of their bickerings ~~xxx~~ in the years he was in Hungary, and now he believes they should not play party politics abroad, but that they all should cooperate together on the issue of Hungary's liberation. - He also thought that it was right for the parties to be revived when the Revolution was victorious, but that they should have spent less energy in reorganizing their affairs, and more in preparing the defense against an imminent Russian ~~xxx~~ attack.

Questioned whether the groups that went into exile previous to the Revolution, should have returned to Hungary to participate in the rebirth of the parties, respondent answered that they could have done so if the country had remained free, but that in any event more interest should have been shown by these exiles in participating in other aspects of Hungarian life because party politics is only a small segment of public life. end disk 6xB

E. Plans for the Future

Respondent said he wants to return to Hungary the minute the fight starts for freedom once again.

Respondent would like to see his children learn Hungarian as well as English in the United States.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio

Respondent said he listened to foreign radio stations while in Hungary, but only occasionally, with Radio Free Europe being almost exclusively the station heard by him - about once a week or once every two weeks. ~~Usually~~ Usually he was too busy to listen, he said, but his father or others in the family would call his attention to the radio if something particularly interesting was on, and in any event they would tell him about what they heard ~~particularly~~ particularly his father, who was the chief listener. They listened only to Hungarian language broadcasts.

Respondent seldom told others what he heard on the radio, since they were usually more eager to tell him, as most people knew of what was coming in over the radio.

As stated before, his father was the chief listener, along sometimes with other members of the family and friends and neighbors stopping in. The general scene was that of the father sitting close to the radio set, and if some one knocked at the door, the father would turn off the radio.

As previously stated, respondent ~~quite~~ quite often heard from others what was on the radio.

Respondent said that there was risk ~~involved~~ involved in listening to the radio, but that he did not know specifically what punishments were inflicted on those who were caught. In any event, this did not prevent people from listening.

Speaking of his general attitudes towards these broadcasts respondent said all he ~~can~~ ~~can~~ really speak of was Radio Free Europe, and that he could thought ~~much~~ much more of the Free World, then, than he ~~thinks~~ thinks now. Radio Free Europe had given him the idea that the United Nations was an efficient organization which was really devoted to the task of preserving freedom and peace in the world. But he became greatly disappointed when the United Nations did everything ~~it~~ it could for Egypt but nothing in effect for Hungary.

Respondent said that he did not closely investigate the accuracy of the reports (news? ~~was~~ what he was mainly concerned with was the over-all attitude of the West, whether it would help Hungary in its fight for independence, or not.

Respondent disclaims any knowledge of the broadcasts of the fighters Radio Free Europe during the Revolution, because he knows is second hand, since ~~he~~ had no ~~time~~ in the Corvin Block, and any way were making up set their own ~~in~~ ~~the~~ minds and would not ~~be~~ have been influenced by the radio.

Radio Free Europe, responded stated, should continue to broadcast into Hungary because people there want to know what is going on in the Free World.

Much more accuracy should be the governing idea of Radio Free Europe, respondent said, and that it should keep hope alive in the minds of its listeners only if it has ~~received~~ received encouragement from the United Nations or the United States Government. Otherwise, it should tell people plainly that, as of now, nothing is in sight that might lead to the liberation of the nation, and that ~~people~~ people should prepare themselves to endure a long period of slavery.

Speaking of particular programs, respondent believed that straight news of political and economic events are very important, but ~~that~~ that they should be checked and re-checked, before going on the air.

~~Respondent~~ Respondent said that anti-Communist propaganda as propaganda, is not necessary because the facts themselves, which Hungarian people face, are enough, and do not have to be interpreted.

Programs about life in the United States and Western Europe, respondent stated, are interesting to most Hungarian listeners.

on Radio Free Europe
A program that might be included, respondent said, would be the warning to the people regarding certain Communist officials, about which there is adequate information, information on their actions, and also that they would be among the first who would have to reckon with retaliation by Hungarian people when liberation comes. Respondent explained that he hopes this would deter a few of the Communist ~~officials~~ officials, and AVO agents particularly, from (further, or at least some) acts of cruelty.

B. F.E.P. Leaflets

Respondent said that he only heard of such leaflets, but that he had seen none himself. He knew of the initials N.E.M. and that they stood for the Hungarian resistance movement, but he did not know of the 12 demands. All he

Continuedknew was that there were some demands.

C. Free Europe ~~COMMUNISM~~ Leaflets in Detail.

Respondent said he could not give his opinions on these leaflets because they would be based only on hearsay.

In regard to the Free Europe Committee's programs on these leaflets, and the broadcasts, respondent believed that the money could be even better spent in scholarships for Hungarian refugees, and an opportunity for them to train for their future roles in a liberated Hungary. Also, the Committee should be concerned with setting up a liberation army consisting of former Freedom Fighters and other volunteers who would be eager to join forces with the Fighters in case of a new Revolution.

Asked what should be stressed in the leaflets, respondent said always the exact truth only.

D. Goals of Western Groups

Respondent's view of the purposes behind Western publications in general was this: "They hate to be smeared by the Communists, and they want the people in Communist countries to know the truth".

Pressed to give his opinions on the ultimate goals of the Free World, respondent said that if a war comes the Free World would like to see these satellite peoples rise, but it seems that it doesn't care about their rising if there is no war. "

XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

The most important things a child should be taught are the following, in the opinion of the respondent:

"The love of God. The love of parents and family. The ~~xxx~~ love of one's country and fellow human beings. Respect for human life and for human freedom should be taught to all children, so that they do not get the idea that other human beings may be oppressed. By the love of God I mean religious instruction that will enable them to know right from wrong, and that there are moral values and that without these the human family is facing disaster and anarchy."

Asked about how to discipline a child, respondent explained: "As much as possible should be done by persuasion, and persuasion should appeal to reason, and should be ~~affectionate~~ affectionate. - However, punishment is necessary sometimes, and I think such should be instant and should have the nature of ~~retaliation~~ ~~showing that doing wrong doesn't pay?~~ reprisal and it should be a very ~~and of course~~ strict reminder, that wrong doesn't pay. Punishment should be inflicted very seldom and only in serious cases. A slap in the face for a serious offense is sometimes of much more effectiveness than is a long harangue, particularly with young children. A young child is often ~~xxxxxxx~~ not developed intellectually sufficiently so that it could be reasoned with, hence it has to be disciplined by strict retaliation (see above

Strict punishment very seldom applied may have the force that the child ~~xxxxxxx~~ needs to keep him ~~reminded~~ reminded for some time of the importance of behaving well if he is to avoid more such punishment, and this is usually sufficient. I ~~xxxxxxx~~ remember well that the memory of such punishment kept me often from doing anything wrong. When I didn't want to do things my parents asked, then my father told me to bring the stick so he could punish me if I didn't listen to reason and persuasion. This order alone gave me enough reason to obey--and I am glad that I did because quite often I was a very irresponsible boy and I am glad they kept me in strict discipline so I could grow up to respect law and to know right from wrong. But I do not respect the law of the X Communists because it has not been enacted with the consent of the people, but by the autocracy of dictators."

As an example, when respondent was punished as a child, he gave this statement: " I was more than twenty years old when my father really slapped me in the face twice when the following event happened - one of my brothers got into a fight with another brother, and the older of the two gave the other a beating. He had good reason to do so. The younger yelled and screamed in a terrible way, lying on the floor, just as my father stepped into the room. But before this, I had myself stepped inside. The older brother had left, so my father saw only me, and the younger brother on the floor, in pain and screaming like mad. To my father, this seemed to be a clear ~~indication~~ indication that I had been the one whom had beaten up the younger brother. My father shouted at me asking how I could have done such a thing, and then gave me a tremendous slap in the face. I stammered, starting to explain what it was all about, but father cried that I should not talk back, and gave me another slap. But I still had enough self-control to smile and to ~~inform~~ inform father with great affection that he was mistaken because it was my brother, and not I, who had beaten up the younger brother. I felt sorry for my father as I saw the remorse on his face, and how he regretted what he had done. I almost felt like comforting him when he said: "Oh, well, sometimes you did things you ~~shouldn't~~ shouldn't have done, and you went unpunished, now take it for those deeds!" This was the final word and I certainly did not blame my father because I felt that he acted in good faith."

Among the people he knew, said the respondent, it was usually the father who punished the ~~children~~ children, and the mothers quite often reminded the children that they would get punished ~~if~~ when father got home.

Respondent said that whoever in the family did ^{most of} the punishing, did so to boys and girls, ~~and~~ and not simply to boys or girls. both

Respondent did not know of any ~~changes~~ changes in the last ten years, except that parents were now so busy (working?) that they did not have much time to attend to their childrens' needs, including their disciplining.

Respondent thought that physical punishment ~~was~~ usually was abandoned when boys reached seventeen or so, and girls fourteen or thereabouts.

Speaking of stopping punishment in general, respondent said that, aside from physical methods, the other way used was reproaching the children, and: "Be sure" he added, "most children were scolded and reproached as long as they lived home. When they left to live elsewhere, then they became entirely independent of their parents. Even so, there were cases when they received entreaties or persuasions not empty of scolding!"

Respondent did not see much difference as regards the age of ~~xxxx~~ stopping punishment, in different social classes at different times.

Communism abolished physical punishment in the schools, the respondent said, and henceforth notes to parents were the only way teachers could use to ~~discipline~~ discipline the children. They could also point out to the children the good examples of famous Hungarian patriots, or if the teacher was a Communist, of notable Communist heroes, while Catholic teachers often referred --in their Catholic schools--to the saints.

The following characteristics are valued most in a ~~friend~~ friend by respondent: "Truthfulness above all. Respect for other human beings. The love of freedom and independence. Courage to stand up ~~in~~ ^{for} what people believe. Helpfulness, even to self-sacrificingness if the need is great. Faithfulness and consistency."

END