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PERSONALITY DESCRIPTION

Respondent's picture contained, together with his article on the role of the intellectuals in Hungary in the July issue of EAST EUROPE, - probably that picture is somewhat retouched, or it is from some earlier time because the features of respondent are smoother in the picture than they are in reality. But the difference is not great. As can be seen in the picture, respondent's hair is pretty bushy, and it is not easy for him to keep it down. His eyes are greyish-blue and they are pretty deep in his face, and even more hidden because of eye-glasses. Respondent is about 5', 6-7" tall, and is heavy set. His steps are very smooth, and his posture is very straight and energetic but his steps are not.

The most striking thing about respondent is to observe his voice. It is full of profound emotions. But the emotions appear to be completely under control. Respondent never loses his temper; he does not cry out loud, nor he whisper, or do anything that would be outward signs of emotionalism. He certainly does not express himself governed by emotions, but rather governed by a very clear and well-pondered thought, but his physical voice is full of warm emotions. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The emotions appear to come from the profound depth of his soul. Where he speaks of people of whom he can say something good, he is eager to do so, and his expressions are ~~affectionate~~ affectionate, and so is his voice. As he speaks, he smokes passionately and his eyes are looking very far. He seldom smiles or laughs, but if it does it is a ~~big~~ hearty and affectionate smile and heartfelt laughter.

Dedication and modesty and smooth agreeability, but genuine smooth agreeability, seem to characterize him more than anything else. Unquestionably he is a dedicated person who is in love with his ideals of freedom and democracy, and in love with his nation and humanity in general. If he ever had hatred in his heart toward people, he certainly extinguished the fire of that emotion. His approach is profound understanding, forgiveness and hatred toward sin and affection toward the sinner.

I think it is particularly important to observe that he has a great many friends, not only among intellectual leaders, but that he was liked and trusted, also, by the fellow workers in the company where he had a clerical job, and of course, he was very much liked and

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highly thought of by his prison and concentration camp inmates.

I have known him for one and a half decades, and I may be biased for him because he followed in my footsteps in the democratic student movement I founded in Hungary, which he so thoughtfully mentions. But I have yet to find somebody who thinks differently of him.

Duty bound to find, also, negative traits in respondent, I may say that he is often disorganized because he shoulders too many tasks and he cannot fulfill all of them in time. He often misses appointments or is woefully late for them because he is afraid to hurt someone's feelings by breaking up a conversation, or leaving a meeting.

In spite of the unspeakable sorrow he feels because of the many losses has experienced lately by the fact that many of his best friends and co-workers were tortured to death by the AVO, and in spite of the fact that most of the time he is under the influence of these tragically shocking experiences, he has kept his very good sense of humour. Although it may not be apparent in this interview, he likes to joke and not to take things too seriously if a little sense of humour helps.

I have both observed respondent, and have helped him to breach the cleavage between the ~~Hungarian National Representation of a Free Hungary~~ National Representation of a Free Hungary, and the Hungarian National Council. His dedicated activities in this field remind me of his role at the historical Hodmezovasarhely convention. The old Hodmezovasarhely convention was the conclusion of the Belatonszarszo conferences which respondent writes of so eloquently in his article in the July issue of EAST EUROPE. It was at that conference that we actually founded the anti-Nazi resistance movement. The Belatonszarszo conference served only as preparatory steps to that. We launched our resistance movement with an anti-Nazi proclamation. This proclamation had a point which said literally "we identify ourselves with socialism". In all other points (about our stand toward the

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Hapsburgs, our stand toward the German Imperialists, the Russian Imperialists, etc. agreement was proportionately achieved. Most of the time in the 3-day convention was lost on debating this one point of whether we identify ourselves with Socialism, or not. I was the leader of the wing which opposed this point by all means. Voting upon it was out of question because there was a very disproportionate representation of various groups of Hungarian youth. Our movement National Student Unity Movement was represented very inadequately but the pro-Communists and Socialists were represented far beyond their significance. I mean, of course, the left wing). They pressed for a show down upon the proposition. No more reasonable arguments left after three days of presenting pros and cons, I stood up and said that I will influence all people whom I can in the Student Unity Movement to withdraw from the resistance movement if this point is accepted in the joint-declaration. It was then that respondent stood up and suggested that we adjourn further debates of this point so that we can bring this debate to a close, and so that we can publish our anti-Nazi and anti-German imperialist declaration. His move was carried and thus he saved the Hodmezovasarhely convention.

Such rules of arbitration were very characteristic of respondent in the following years, too, as I understand from mutual friends.

When I founded the Student Unity Movement, Hungarians first democratic youth organization, together with a handful of other dreamers and dedicated persons it was my dream, I should say our dream, and our professed idea to accomplish in our student world all the ideals for which we are fighting on the large scale for the entire country - for the entire nation. When respondent joined our movement, he was one of the most eager and one of the most capable co-workers who had the same dream and the same ideal. He carried on the same work in MEFESZ and the same in the Petofi Circle, and now he is serving the same goals, with the same idealism, in the National Representation of the Free Hungary. It seems that he is one of those who have really carried out a great deal of our fondest dreams to continue on a large scale what we started on a small scale.

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MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

Respondent has these points to make in an answer to what he thinks are the most important points he thinks an American should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956:

1. "The Hungarian revolution was absolutely spontaneous. It was not due to any conspiracy. It was a general uprising of the entire population of Hungary.
2. "The Communist indoctrination of the Hungarian people proved a complete failure.
3. "The Communist Party and the AVO collapsed by themselves, and there was very little to be done by the revolutionary forces to get AVO completely annihilated.
4. "We may draw conclusions about the state of affairs in other satellites from what we experienced in the Hungarian revolution.
5. "It is not Hungary and the other so-called satellite countries that are in danger of becoming brain-washed and indoctrinated. It is rather the Soviet Union that is in danger of receiving too much, and too strong influences from Hungary and the other satellites.

6. "The American leaders, and the American people should consider this suggestion:

No double-playing must be continued. The picture of pure democracy and the happiness in democracy should not be painted to the people in bondage if the United States is not ready to extend help when those people rise to gain freedom. Suggestive policies may be carried out only if the free world's powers have concerted and well-coordinated programs for that part of the world to which they are relaying broadcasts which suggests actions to those people even though by implication only. Until, the US mainly, and other countries of the Western world decided upon such policies, only informative programs should be relayed to Hungary, and by no means any programs which suggest any action."

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

On Oct. 21, respondent received a telegram from the Mefesz which had been ~~was~~ formed in Szeged University. In this telegram, they greeted him as the former first national chairman of the Mefesz on the occasion of the refounding of the organization at Szeged University. (Respondent received a detailed letter from the Mefesz two days later, which letter bore the same date as the telegram, and in this it was explained to him that the Szeged students considered themselves as Mefesz leaders of the organization. Respondent had been heading and had been siezed in a coup d'etat by the Communists - fellow travelers - on January, 1947. The Mefesz leadership of Szeged University explained that they would like to form a national student parliament, whose assignment it would be to form a nation-wide Mefesz but only after local leaderships are elected in secret ballot. For this purpose, they suggested, that they would like to have direct contacts with student organizations all over the world.)

Student bodies in Budapest convened at various colleges and universities. They convened as DISZ, as part of the DISZ organization. The meetings were informal, mass meetings which had heated and terribly excited debates as to whether they should form Mefesz within the organization. This leadership tried everything possible to head off disaster, and to persuade membership not to form independent Mefesz organizations. But these attempts were mostly in vain. Soon they called in a committee - a co-ordinating committee which was in the process of being formed, and such a co-ordinating committee was set up.

This co-ordinating committee of the Mefesz organizations - 2-B- Forum decided that sympathy demonstrations were to be held to show solidarity with the Polish students and the Polish people. They scheduled this demonstration at the Bem statue. The co-ordinating committee sent 3 representatives to the Petofi Circle to ask for the opinion and the advice of the Petofi Circle leaders. One of the leaders of the Petofi Circle advised these students to carry out their plans, but to hold a silent demonstration so as to avoid provocation of the AVO who might try to create situations in which students will do things which make them guilty of "crimes" which the AVO can retaliate for.

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 On the 22nd of October, mimeographed leaflets appeared the 16 points on the basis of which the Mefesz chapters were formed. Several, or even many, student organizations and student Communist Party organizations had various leaflets. The Communists demanded liberation and the public trial of Mihaly Farkas and Vladimir Farkas, and the dismissal of Szalay and Istvan Kovacs. They also mentioned the exclusive Hungarian use of the Hungarian Uranium mines (which were exploited completely by Russian interests); they also demanded, especially Hungarians, applications of Socialism. The Mefesz contained the 16 points which appeared first in Szeged, and at the technical university of Budapest.

Speaking of the 23rd of October, respondent tells us that the effect of the leaflets reached far beyond the students. Respondent refers to the leaflets which contained the 16 points. You could see such in plans, on bulletin boards, in offices, on trees, on the walls of houses. In the morning there were several offices of field workers who were not tied to those offices who had to go out to various places to check on operations - such offices were very likely to be empty by most of those who were not tied down to one place of work - there were other offices which also became empty - at least in part.

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Respondent called one of his close friends up and took one of the motor cycles of the company for which he worked - the Iron and Utensils shop - with him. The march of the demonstrators started some time ago, about 10:00 a.m., and respondent and his friend saw the marchers on the various rounds (the various colleges had been scheduled by the Mefesz leaders to march on the various rounds toward the Bem statue). Respondent and his friend joined the marchers for the statue. Respondent found it striking that many uniformed soldiers took part in the demonstrations; these soldiers were studying at various colleges. Respondent stood close to the Bem statue, and close to the building of the Foreign Ministry, and he saw national flags in several places. He also saw some Kossuth emblems shown by students, and with the cry: "That's what we want!" Cheers went up everywhere, and emblems appeared. There was tremendous enthusiasm and a great confusion everywhere. Groups chanted slogans and demands. Many old time friends, former youth leaders, were cited by respondent. He saw one Hungarian flag with the Communist code of arms covered up, and he saw one youth fixing this flag on the Bem statue, and when people saw this, respondent reports, a tremendous cheer went up and the National Anthem was sung, although it was unscheduled to be sung then.

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Confusion, respondent recalls, was caused by the fact that there were no loud speakers provided.

There were several speeches given by people at the Bem statue and more and more chants were audible. One of them demanded the toppling of the Stalin statue. He reports that several Polish flags appeared in the crowd.

By 2:00 PM, the crowd started leaving slowly and part of those who left went to the Petofi statue. Respondent saw crowds everywhere in the streets and about 3:00 or 4:00 even more people joined the crowds. By five o'clock the multitudes swelled to an enormous size. More and more trucks appeared and were filled with people and flags and the news was brought by people about the attempts to topple the Stalin statue.

Respondent phoned two friends exchanging view and information. He met old time friends and went with them to the Parliament. Since they were not able to hear Gero's speech directly, he went up ~~to~~ to the home of one of his friends to listen to it over the radio, who was living nearby. It was there that they listened to Gero's infamous speech. They expected that Gero would announce his ~~resignation~~ resignation and hand over the government to Imre Nagy. "I looked with anxiety and fear toward the events, the events that would probably follow.", respondent reports. "As we sat later at an espresso (small cafe) we heard the rumble of tanks and saw Hungarian tanks approaching. We went to see what would happen and met other friends and saw in great amazement as tanks and armoured cars came people jumped up to them and spoke to the soldiers: "Boys, don't betray us. Your officers may mislead you. Don't believe them!" The most important advice that people gave to the soldiers again and again, was: "Don't go against the people! Don't go against, don't do anything against the people's will!" Respondent reports that the soldiers were non-committal but some of them nodded and showed friendly faces. ~~xx~~

As respondent went around town with the motorcycle, about 11:00 PM he saw the first barricades raised at the Western RR terminal and from there he went to Rakoczi Square and saw the armoured car in flames. At another place, he saw the Horizont and Horizont ideological "publications burned by enthusiastic people. He saw barricades elsewhere being built by people "against Red Russian attacks". He also heard shooting by then and the SZIKIA office, he saw people conquering the place. The same happened at the printing office of VOROS GSILL. Respondent was in front of the building of the SZABAD NEP, the official Communist Party organ when it was invaded and the red star on the bld. demolished.

When finally they negotiated with Imre Nagy, the leader of the delegation - the University Professor - declared that their confidence in him was shaken, and several matters had to be cleared - for instance, the calling in of Russian troops. Imre Nagy replied that he didn't call them in, as at that time he had not been Minister yet. The same was true, Premier Nagy insisted, about the Marshall Law being declared by somebody else, not by him. At the same time, Premier Nagy remarked he thought it was right for criminal cases to be countered by martial law, so as to prevent chaos. As the main point of the negotiations, Imre Nagy declared himself to be willing to accept the 16 points of the demands of the students with which the Intellectual Council (Revolutionary Council) identified itself. Imre Nagy did declare that the government had its specific plans and that it did intend to improve all errors, and to make good for any injustice. He wanted to make a country that is based on law, justice, and the basic principles of humanity.

Respondent asked during the negotiations Imre Nagy whether or not he was informed that in the basement of the Petofi, political officers of the Academy ~~had~~ and of the Ministry of Defense, students who had thought of the revolution, were arrested. (respondent had learned this from an Army Colonel, a surgeon who had been informed by a sick prisoner who had been taken to him). Imre Nagy asked respondent whether he had talked to Minister Janza. Respondent and others answered that he had talked already to Minister Janza, but that he claimed he had had no knowledge about what they told him. Imre Nagy promised to investigate, and told the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals that they may check on the progress of his investigation. (Respondent remarks that the next day the students who had been held captive were released and that they went to the Council to express their appreciation).

Respondent recalls that it was late in the night when they finished their negotiations, and they had to sneak back in the dark to the meeting of the Revolutionary Council of the Intellectuals. When they arrived back they reported on their progress of the negotiations. It was the first time that respondent had a chance to ~~eat something~~ in the last two days. eat something

Respondent prefers to speak about the next four days - that is, the say the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th without making any distinction of days on which the events took place.

It was perhaps on the 30th, respondent tries to remember that the Petofi Circle was re-organized, and its membership extended. A great many people applied to become members. It was at that session that

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that respondent was elected Chairman of the Petofi Circle. The Petofi Circle like other democratic institutions received premises and vehicle which were taken away from institutions which had been abandoned. This is how the Petofi Circle received the premises of the Tervhivatal (Plan Bureau), and also received 15 cars and they modern printing shop. The leaders of the Petofi Circle had great plans. They ~~wanted~~ meant to have a daily paper; a weekly paper and a monthly magazine. Respondent was present when the printing office was taken over and the editorial staffs were organized. Respondent had a great part in the negotiations, and he maintains that everything was almost ready to launch their projects on Nov. 4, when the great tragedy came.

It was probably on Nov. 1, that the representatives in the executive committee of the forces of law and order met to see Premier Nagy. Respondent was among them as representative of the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals. Dudas was also among them - one of the most renowned leaders of the Freedom Fighters, and there were other representatives of other art groups. Dudas went to respondent and invited him to go to this meeting with the Minister present.

When they entered the Parliament it struck respondent that the building of the Parliament was completely unguarded and there were complete lines of disorganization within the building. He says that some thirty and forty, well-armed and disciplined people could have captured the bldg. of the Parliament easily. It was Dudas who started negotiations. He criticized Imre Nagy government very severely, and spoke out not only against the Party members of the government, but also against opportunists who serve every government like Erdos and Bograr. Dudas actually intended to speak out against Zoltan Tildy as well, but finally he was dissuaded by participants of the conference. The negotiations tended to come to a conclusion that, democratic parties should be refounded and their representatives should be delegated to form a government. Imre Nagy was concerned about practical matters and complained that people still fired at Communist Party Hqts. He had received that report. Respondent remarks that it turned out that the actual situation was just the reverse. There were shots fired at Freedom Fighters from Communist Hqts. The question of the treatment of the members of the AVH was up on the agenda and at last they agreed that the AVH members had to be turned over to the police. The questions of how public order could be secured and maintained was very important in the conference. Respondent reports that he saw that Imre Nagy had a genuine feeling of responsibility and was very anxious to see that things did not leave their hands. At last they agreed in

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a joint statement. The Revolutionary Council of the Police co-operated very well, respondent explains. Oszka and General Pocze were ~~representing~~ ^{present} representing the Revolutionary Council of Police.

Respondent also give account of a visit to Cardinal Mindszenty. Three members of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ provisional executive committee of the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals went to see the Cardinal and handed over a memorandum to him which contained a few suggestions to include in his speech which was scheduled over the radio. They asked the Cardinal to include in his speech a warning: that any action other than taking people who are considered guilty of some crime captive is allowed only ~~throughout the course of the law~~ after due course of the law. That is to say after the people are considered guilty, or are suspected of guilt, have a trial. Respondent reports that the Cardinal was very graceful, and showed appreciation for their suggestions and promised to include them in his speech. Among the people who stood in a cue to see the Cardinal were people of all classes and all walks of life.

Respondent recalls that in the few days of freedom, mainly the 1,2, and 3rd of November, he witnessed a great many moves toward refounding of political parties and other organizations. He says that he thinks back on these days with admiration and with some shudder, because the most unselfish good, the most devoted servant was contrasted by the emergence of apple-polishers, and joiners and even pushers. People who were eager to receive good jobs and good assignments were eager to join parties. They were mixed with those who wanted to do the greatest possible thing for the country (aside from sacrificing their lives) - to devote their lives in unselfish service to the common good. Respondent spent most of his time in the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals, in the Revolutionary Council of Students and in the Petofi Circle. He helped to see the first issue of the newspaper to be completed, which newspaper never did have a chance to appear, as respondent regrets.

It happened prior to the second attack of the Russians, in fact, one day before when he was elected Chairman of the Worker's Council of his own company where he worked.

On the 3rd of November, a business meeting of the Petofi Circle was held, in which all current matters were treated very seriously and effectively. They also talked about the danger of an imminent Russian attack, and some people had reports that the Russians extended their wide guard trucks so far as Debrecen. As the meeting went on, it was interrupted that there had been an agreement achieved with the Russians. A great cheer went up and people stood up as one man and sang the National Anthem, with tears in their eyes.

When in the morning hours of Nov. 4, respondent heard Imre Nagy's announcement over the radio, he immediately went to the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals and of Students at the University and took a sub-machine gun. Not long after he arrived there at headquarters, a French radio man from the radio called Europe 1, a certain Monsieur Telliers interviewed respondent, and respondent told him that he saw no hope to preserve, or to regain, Hungarian freedom. But he considered it a sacred duty to keep fighting. The radio man recorded respondent's statement, and it was played over the French radio, Europe 1. Respondent now stayed at headquarters until he had destroyed all papers and ~~was~~ thought he would hold out there with others who hurried to the office.

He did hold out until Nov. 7, when they were surrounded by Russian tanks which started shelling their building. After a while, they withdrew and dispersed. With a friend he went to another friend's room and then to a student dormitory where the students were armed and they resolved to resist to the last man. Szabo Bacsi and his group were also nearby, and they had a chance to exchange their views. Szabo Bacsi animated people to resistance, not only by his heroic example but also by sensible, encouraging words, but also with rumours which he voiced with great persuasion. According to his information, on Nov. 18, or so, a UN Committee was due to arrive in Hungary and that Committee needed proof that the Hungarians were still fighting, and he managed to organize even greater resistance. Hundreds of freedom fighters died because they meant to serve their nation by holding out until the UN Committee would arrive.

Respondent calls the second part of Nov. and Dec. "phase of the Worker's Council". All Worker's Councils were already in operation and took an even more active part in directing the Nation's life and they became the actual sources of authority. They enjoyed unanimous confidence of the population. Respondent remembers these Worker's Councils with words of admiration, and he says that their functioning was democracy at its best.

The Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals sent a liaison to the Budapest Centre Worker's Council to be informed on its actions. These Worker's Council could have made a happy democratic country out of Hungary had not their power, and best leaders, been annihilated, or leaders sent to prison. Respondent explains that they gave up hope reluctantly, and they tried their level best to save as much of the freedom as possible - of the freedom for which they had fought so dearly.

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Even when their hope was fading, most of them thought it was their sacred duty not to abandon their comrades and not to abandon the Hungarian people in this hour of trials and tribulations. Nevertheless, the power of the Communist State apparatus was on the increase and Kadar managed to get so much help from the Soviet occupation forces that it had a very good chance to reorganize the country on Communist lines with all the well-known methods of intimidation and degradation.

It was on Dec. 4th, when respondent decided with two friends of his to flee, and they cross to Austria on Dec. 5th.

C. The Invasion.

When respondent is asked about his expectations with respect to the Red Army when it had begun its "retreat", this is his answer. "I expected that the elementary force, the irresistible force, of the Hungarian revolution would compel the Soviet Union to leave Hungary. It is still my conviction that the Soviet Union really considered, and intended to do this, but unexpected events such as the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, and America's well advertised limited interest in World Affairs, in part because of the elections, and lack of sufficient interest, even when Hungary's Premier announced Hungary's neutrality, then the conflicts in the Near East - all of these unexpected events - prompted the Soviet Union to change its attitude.

When respondent is asked when it was he first heard that the Soviet withdrawal had been halted, he answers: that he heard immediately that after the Soviet had retreated from Budapest they dug around Budapest and occupied three rings around the City. Respondent also remarks that the Russian could never have beaten the Revolution if they had used only the troops which had been stationed in Hungary for some time, or been in the other satellited countries.

Respondent saw Russian troops returning only on Nov. 4.

Respondent told a great deal a major lines of his activities from the time of the Red Army's return to the time of his escape, and he also spoke of his escape in his story elaborately enough.

D. Conclusion:

When respondent is asked whether or not he thinks that on the whole Hungary has gained because of the revolution, he answers a very enthusiastic "Yes", and he goes on: "By all means, the Hungarian

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Revolution was a phase in national history which has become an asset for all similar moves for freedom and independence in the future. It will always be a point of departure for thought, and inspiration, like the fight for freedom and independence in 1848 has been up to date. People will think and say: "If we Hungarians were able to accomplish such a fantastic acts of heroism and dedication in 1956, we can do it another time again, because our nation fears slavery more than death."

" During the revolution, the unity of the nation was greater than ever before; selfless devotion, love and charity toward their fellow men rose to heights unimaginable before because of its generosity.

"The Hungarian nation proved to the world that Communist indoctrination is not something the free world has to reckon with in Hungary as an asset of the Reds ~~is a liability~~ failure is a liability.

"The revolution produced such leaders and made them known to the Hungarian people whose emergence will prove very useful in the future.

"The revolution and the post-revolution era produced Worker's Councils which showed a way (never tried) to plant autonomy which was democratically built up from the grass roots and was ^{not} reactionary in any way.

"The Hungarian revolution made such a deep impression upon the world that Hungary became a headline topic for months and aroused sincere interest in the free world towards Hungary as well as toward the entire area which is struggling for its freedom.

" The revolution demonstrated that the Communist Party didn't ~~even~~ have any real power in Hungary: In five days, it became less than the shadow of its former self. We may arrive at the conclusion that the same would happen in case of revolutions in other satellite countries."

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EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

This is respondent's ~~question~~ answer to the question of what he expected from the West:

"I expected that Imre Nagy's government would be morally supported first of all, and most of all, by the United Nations, but also by statements of governments of the free world, and by radio and press, and TV more than it was.

"I also considered it right and very necessary that the Radio Free Europe identify itself with the aims of the revolution, and that it accept Imre Nagy's government as a crystallization point, and an issue which has to be dealt with later, which changes in view ~~when~~ with prospects are ^{for} very much better ~~than~~ government.

^{Russian}
"After the second aggression, when Hungary's Premier announced the beginning of a war between Hungary and Soviet Russia, it ought to have become clear to the free world that an independent nation wanted war with an aggressor. Then the free world ought to have seen the situation in such a light, and ought to have seen that on that day -Nov. 4- another war of conquest was launched by the Soviet Union, and the free world ought to have taken a stand accordingly.

"Hungary didn't expect armed help from the West because we knew that it could have meant the outbreak of World War III, but as a minimum we expected the representatives of the free world, that the 11 resolutions passed by the United Nations ~~with~~ with an overwhelming majority would be carried out as thoroughly as the ones passed in the matter of aggression in Egypt.

"I certainly expected that the Secretary-General of the UN would fly as head of a unit and a UN Committee at once when Hungary announced neutrality, but at the very latest when Imre Nagy asked for help.

"I also expected that Hungary's neutral standards be immediately put on the agenda of the United Nations with recognition in view.

" Since the exodus of the Hungarians we have expected by "Hungarian Question", primarily not the matter of the refugees but the problem of the Hungarian people in Hungary be met and the people whose flight for freedom was drowned in blood be accepted and examined, and that avenues be found to make the Soviet Union obey the resolutions of the United Nations.

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"I think that the Soviet Union gave opportunity for the refugees to flee for about more than a month- almost two months - so that the problem of Hungary be deliberated to a problem of refugees in the eyes of the free world. Of course the free world should be smarter and not fall into this trap. It should help the refugees by all means to go to countries where they can be free, but at the same time, it should not lose sight of the fact that Hungary is enslaved and the Russian forces are staying in Hungary to make sure that the stamina of the people be broken in spite of all the resolutions of the UN."

B. When respondent is asked on what basis he formed his expectations, he comes up with the following answer:

"The goal of the UN is to settle difficulties emerging between two member nations, and if there is an armed conflict, as there was in the case of the second aggression carried out by the Soviet Union against Hungary on Nov. 4 and subsequent days and weeks, ~~in such a case~~ in such a case, the UN Charter, as well as all its professed aims and its view of successful practices would indicate that such a conflict should not be decided by brute force - that is to say, by superiority of numbers, or of military equipment and training, but by negotiations, plebiscites and other methods of the free world - methods which are worthy of the name "democratic"."

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SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

A. Respondent's father worked as a journeyman tailor. He died in 1925 when the respondent was three years old. From then on, of course, his mother was the bread winner of the family. She worked as a seamstress for a dress shop. She died in Sept. 1956.

Respondent's family was quite poor and no positions whatsoever.

Both his father and his mother had only eight-grades of grade school, that is to say, the equivalent of that in the Hungarian school system.

B. Social classes.

According to respondent, there are the following social classes in Hungary - workers, peasantry, intelligentsia, employees, the class elements, and Party aristocracy. Employees could also be called clerks. Respondent means by them in minor and mediocre jobs in business, hotels, restaurants, with HLR's six post office, etc.

Respondent had the following personal contact with these various classes. He had a good deal of contact with workers, both while in prison and in prison camps and after he got out of prison for six months, he was an unskilled laborer himself. Later on, he had contact in his company with many workers. It was while in this company that he himself was in a category which he calls employees, or clerks and of course, then had contact with a great many who also fell into the same category. At the same time, previously respondent had in many jobs, before imprisonment, a very good contact with members of the intelligentsia and he upheld of his contacts after his release from prison. He was part of an intellectual and political movement which maybe considered the third side - a truly democratic movement with truly democratic ideals and methods. Respondent was part of this since 1943 when he joined the student Unity Movement which was Hungary's first democratic student movement. He soon became one of these central leaders of this movement and after the war he became the first national chairman of the free and democratic Hungarian movement for students which was founded then under a new name, but with the same ideals of democracy that the Student Unity Movement had established in the years 1942-44. Respondent never ceased to be a member of that intellectual and political movement which set pure democracy as its goal. In this connection he had contact with the pure intellectuals and with peasants - indirectly thru leaders

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When respondent is asked what his own attitudes towards these groups are, he suggests that this is such a complicated answer that he could answer only in an elaborate lecture.

Respondent feels that he belongs to the intelligentsia.

He feels that ~~xxxxxx~~ that the class which was hardest hit by Communism was the workers. They were hardest hit, first of all, by an exaggerated norm system. Labor had too heavy burdens to carry, and too low wages to live on.

2. Class Opinions:

Respondent declined to answer on the same grounds he declined to say when his own opinion was asked about classes. He thinks that this topic is highly complicated, and no brief answer can be given.

3. Social advancement.

Respondent holds that the chances in Communist Hungary for any individual to get ahead were determined by the following factors in sequence of importance:

Above all, the person's political attitude as revealed by his words and deeds; secondly, his class origin; thirdly, his talent and his accomplishments. In many cases talent was even a ~~xxxxxx~~ the last, respondent explains, because: "Thinking heads were not favored by the Communists who wanted to have willing 'yes' men above all. They wanted to have fanaticism ~~ix~~ in turning out orders, and in believing in the Party, in the omnipotence of the Party, rather than members who were fanatic in believing in ideology and who interrupted ~~xxxxxx~~ ideology with their own minds."

Respondent says that the new course had some effects and it started a process which was impossible to stop. They checked it for awhile, but never managed to stop it. In this process, talent started counting for more.

Speaking about him as a person, the type of individual to get ahead most and best in Communist Hungary who pirated editorials. It was even possible, respondent tells us, that people cheated and invented data of conferences, of Party Congresses, and of authors - Communist authors - to which they didn't know to whom to refer when arguing, and no one was able to check whether they were right or not. Such people were greatly respected for great knowledge of Party ideology.

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RELIGION

A. When respondent is asked what did religion play in Hungarian life, he said: "Religious life became more profound in a great many people. Many of them found refuge in the church and others went there just by natural opposition to Communism. Many, otherwise not devout people, became good church members."

But respondent also explains that the publicity which was prevalent in education as a whole could not be avoided in the matter of religious instructions, even. Many people wanted to have their children receive religious instruction, but suffered great disadvantages if not complete loss of their bread and butter if they were registered as reactionaries who have their children visit for religious instructions. Thus, people had to do this secretly.

Respondent thinks that it was the Catholic religion which was the hardest hit, because it had the greatest influence over the nation, and heads of the church worded their statements regarding Communism in unequivocal terms, and left no doubt as to their absolute opposition to Communism. The other reason, respondent says, is because there were extremely few traitors among Catholic Priests, and even Catholic ~~latter~~ lay leaders.

Speaking of other religions, respondent says that many Protestant leaders were too conciliatory toward Communism, and Communists managed to find substitutes for people who heroically resisted Communism, and these substitutes were ready to enter compromising agreements. Respondent thinks that Lutherans on the whole resisted stronger. He particularly points to Bishop Ordas. Among Calvinists respondent puts his finger on smaller eschelon, particularly the Bethesda group who offered heroic resistance to Communist infiltration.

Respondent's views on the effect of Communism on Judaism are the following: "Zionism was considered a political crime," he said, "and Zionists were affected the worst. There was an organized, half-way illegal immigration to Israel, administered by Zionists, and its name was Briha. People involved in Brihas operations were jailed. Respondent himself and a Zionist Rabbi were together in prison. The Rabbi's name was Freilach, and he was with Zionists from the so-called Klal group. Both of these Jews, respondent explained, made themselves

independent from the regime's effect. They withdrew to their communities and remained politically intact. There were many among the reformed Jews who became, in 1945, Party Members. They became members because they had been under very severe oppression during the time of the Nazi influence and Nazi rule in Hungary. They thought that Communism was the strongest opposed to Nazism and Fascism, and so it would be a most positive toward Jews. A great many Jews became automatically Party members and did think much of it. They found refuge, they thought, in the Party.

In the ~~high~~ highest strata of the Party there were many leaders of Jewish origin. Respondent uses the words "Jewish origin" because most of them didn't practice their religion anymore, and had no church affiliation whatsoever. These leaders themselves resented that there be many Jews in the middle and lower echelons, so as to outbalance their presence on the high level. This may seem a paradox respondent adds, but it is quite obvious to him. A real dedicated Party leader is no more a Jew just as he is no more a Catholic or a Protestant, but he belongs to the creed of Communism, and he acts like one, as one in the Communist fold, should.

B. Personal religious life:

To the question as to whether religion is an important factor in his life, respondent answers that it is a dull question. He explains that he believes in God and has his own personal religion, if one can call it so.

Respondent says that doubtless he is less religion than the average person in Hungary - he thinks it a less important factor in his life, than in the life of ~~his~~ his parents; at the same time, he doesn't well know, but would guess, it is also less important in his life than in the life of the average person in Hungary.

C. Church function:

In the respondent's opinion, a relation between church and state should be that of complete separation. Speaking of the role of churches in education, he says that even purely rational in thinking that youth be given religious instruction, he suggests. Religion gives young men an ethical attitude, he explains, and what else is more important in a person's life than having principles. Take for instance, even such practical matter as understanding the ~~political~~ history of Western culture, you cannot do it without knowing Christian religion.

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Communists had a hard time when they taught art history to youth, and were forced to explain the Virgin Mary and other saints and persons in Bible when it came to explain works of art.

Respondent suggests that no censorship of any sort be granted to church authorities, but that they should have the right to air their views through press and radio.

Churches should by no means take an active political role in any independent Hungary, respondent suggests.

At the same time, he emphasises that Christianity has an ideology that can be the basis of political thinking and attitude. First, parties may be formed which choose Christian principles as ideology and which participate in political life. Thus the tenets of the church may transpire in political life.

This is respondent's summary of the entire question:

"The ultimate goals of human life, and the basic tenets of human behaviour should be represented and taught by the churches, and political parties - that is to say, party leaders and party members - should learn from them and should make up their minds as to how to realise them in every day practical life later."

D. The Jewish minority:

When respondent is asked whether the Jewish religion has also been hurt by Communism, this is his reply. "Not to any lesser extent. Church was church for the Communists and they saw no difference between one or the other - basic difference - they were interested in making one fold of people; that is the Communist fold. The Minister President of the Revolution, Imre Nagy, is also of Jewish origin," respondent explains. "Imre Nagy's family are Jewish.

In the revolutionary organizations and among the fighters themselves there were many people of Jewish descent, and also many Jews. Take Gabor Tanczos, of the Petofi Circle, who is of Jewish origin. One of the commanders of the Student Civilian Guard was a religious Jew. Among the foremost writers, prelude to the revolution, one can find several of Jewish origin. Take Gyula Hay, Tamas Acsel, or Andras Sandor, respondent himself saw them among the Jewish fighters.

THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

Respondent means youth when we speak of people between 16 and 30.

B. Leadership in the revolution:

Respondent thinks that youth started the revolution, gave it a decided push because of its natural readiness to be active, and he thinks that youth has the lion's share among the fighters.

Speaking of the six months before the revolution says that the reaction to the intellectual ferment which writers and the Petofi Circle represented was greatest among the youth.

Respondent says that youth had the leading role in the demonstrations, and the same is true is about the fighting, to which he has already referred.

Here are respondent's views as to why it was youth who took the lead rather than the older people:

"In a revolution, it is necessary that youth take the leading role. Youth is inclined to be eager, to promote changes for the better; concepts worded by intellectual leaders are understood and carried out best by youth. Youth has less to lose. But Hungarian youth was more ~~dis~~satisfied because the regime gave good chances to youth to get ahead. Student dormitories, cafeterias, the relinquishing of certain fees, and many other advantages were given to youth and the students of the colleges and universities were already screened, and Communists were very anxious not to have any hostile elements ~~stck~~ among them. But the real explanation for the acts of youth lie in the sensibility and sensitiveness of youth which couldn't bear the duplicity which was manifest in the words officially written and spoken and in realities of every day life.

"In the history of education a new chapter has to be opened under the title "negative education". Explaining how Communist education achieved the opposite to what it was aimed at. Youth ~~dis~~ revolted above all to the fundamental hypocrisy of the Communist system."

The older generation considered youth the persons who dared to say and dared to realize the ideas conceived and cherished by them as well. Youth asked for advice and guidance, and the more experienced older people were gladly ready to give them what they asked for. These are respondents' views on the relationship between the elderly generation and youth relative to the revolution.

C. Educational System:

Respondent's ideas about the schools and educational system in Hungary during the last ten years in Hungary are expressed in the following statement:

"This entire question is worthy of a research project. Briefly, it may be stated that the greatest short coming of Communist education was the fact that schools became courses rather than schools. Instead of the ideal of "experts" became the ideal in education. In place of High Schools, which had the entire person in mind when setting up their programs, a high number of vocational high schools were established, such as "Dairy-product High Schools", "Railroad Maintenance High Schools", "Road Building High Schools," - all of these were aimed at producing a type of a person whom is unaffected by anything, and can move only within his own little cell in life. In addition, the forcible screening of pupils as to class origins and political attitude naturally affected the student bodies of all educational institutions. A great many would-be students were turned away; talent didn't count; if one's father was a civil servant under the previous regime, he probably became an unwanted person, a marked person who wasn't found fit to receive higher education, and had no chance to get ahead in life. Teachers were advised that pupils of workers and peasant origin had to be promoted fast and with good marks so that good results can be shown in statistics"

E. Indoctrination:

To the question, did he think the Communists spent much time and effort trying to indoctrinate the younger generation, respondent says with a loud cry: " Then he goes on explaining: "The text books of all, particularly of the 'ideological subject' are "a way-of -live" such as history, Hungarian culture, Russian culture, geography were ~~exaggeratedly~~ saturated by political bias, purposely and systematically arranged. Even natural sciences were greatly affected by material with political purpose and, in a great many cases, not true at all; and a great part of politicizing was directed at the glorification of the Russians. Take, for instance, their predilection for contributing great discoveries to Russian scientists. The steam engine was invented by Russians; the incandescent light and the various types of radar were also the output of Russian masters. Such shameless lies, and other quite primitive over-simplifications insult the intelligence of people, and they feel that these tricks as well as the entire political indoctrination is jammed down their throats.

One of the jokes, and there were many, makes it clear what we mean by "Glorification of Russians". There are books written, the story goes, about elephants. The Germans would make a title sounding like this: 'Contributions to the Knowledge of the Elephant'. The French would have it published under the title, "The Love Life of the Elephant". The English would publish it under the title "Elephants in the Commonwealth", and the Hungarian Communists would have it under the title "Our Ideal and Model, the Soviet Elephant."

The Communist youth organization was completely devoted to the task of political indoctrination, and even so, although its weekly meetings were mandatory, the Communists had to announce dances after the meetings so that people would attend them regularly. Later they had to use even more clever methods. They were anxious to catch people through sports and sport events. Many youth attended only picnics and sport events, but even such occasions the Communists began to try to get people ideologically trained. Motion pictures, posters, books, all are at least dedicated to ideological training. An entire industry of adult education was set up for indoctrination. The Communists expected most of such ideological training. The future - the future, and again the future was the great dream and goal of the Communists. They tried to condition people to surrender; they tried to take today's life in exchange for a promised future.

To the question as to why the Communists failed to indoctrinate the youth, if they really spent so much time trying to do so, respondent comes up with the following answer: "It is true that youngsters between freedom fighters views - youngster who never experienced, never knew what freedom actually means. The reason above all was, the basic truth about human nature - that the idea of freedom is profoundly inherent in the human soul. The basic idea of man includes the idea of freedom, and if it isn't in that stage, it is anxious to gain it. Secondly, as a matter of course, one cannot educate under conditions which ~~contradict~~ contradict the ideological teachings in all every day matters. Quite practically speaking, it is difficult to speak of the "Glorious, liberating Russian Army" if people know how unholy and hideous the acts of that "glorious" Army are. You cannot speak of the Soviet Union "the Great Friend of small Nations" when it's policies with the small nations are imperialistic and colonial. Teachers did not feel at ease of speaking of the Soviet Union as the "Citadel" of pure arts, when for instance, the theatres playing Russian films, were hardly visited by people because they didn't find those pictures enjoyable at all. But even if a mediocre French film came to Hungary (very seldom) it was remembered by the papers (on higher orders) as a decadent bourgeois work. People stood in cues to gain admission to these shows.

"Rising living standards" cannot be spoken of to youth, when their families sweat blood in everyday toil.

"Bright students recognized great contradictions in the Communist ideology. Take for instance the basic Marxist teaching that a value of a product can be measured by the labor that produced it, and leaves the factors of offers and demand completely out of account.

"When I was in solitary confinement for months and months, I daydreamed about a piece of bread quite often and figured as to how much value such a piece of bread would be to me. Under those circumstances, when I came to this country, I saw many pieces of bread just thrown away, and compared the value of the same piece of bread under circumstances here and there. Such basic truths are completely ignored in Marxism. Many intelligent students were bright enough to discover such shortcomings, but even if they didn't go so far as to put the theoretical considerations under close scrutiny. Take for instance, the following fact. In the first Volume of Das Kapital, Marx condemned piece work and prefers hourly wages over them. He teaches that piece work is exploitation and hourly wages are the only right way for compensation. At the same time, the Communist regime introduced "Norms" Norms, which were more severe than in any other Marxist system.

"There were other teachings of Marx which people applied to the Communist system as practiced in the last eight years in Hungary. For instance, Marx taught that a nation which oppresses others cannot ~~be free~~ be free. People applied this Marxism to the harsh facts of Soviet foreign policy of ruthless oppression.

"Such points on which Communists were in contradiction with their own teachings were decisively important in turning people against Communism. But we don't have to go very far if we just consider that "People's democracy" meant nothing less and nothing more than the "dictatorship of the proletariat." In other words, "not a bourgeois democracy but a centralized socialistic democracy" - or another way, "people's freedom was equal to the oppression by the few who happened to be of proletariat descent" - of course such nonsense was recognized by youth, and rejected. The picture of the police state could not be explained away by word pictures taught in ideological classes. It was apparent that the entire government was kept in power by "force-organizations" like the AVH, and at the same time, people were told they lived in freedom and democracy."

"Contradictions were everywhere and more and more people voiced their resentment. We were taught, for instance, that the West is in a state of over production and that economic crisis will kill it; at the same time Khrushchev said that he wanted to have commerce with the West. At one of the Party seminars I asked the lecturer whether we were not saving the West from crisis if we undertook any exchange of goods with them. The lecturer was terribly embarrassed, stammered, and as a result I was never invited again to Party seminars. Such embarrassing questions were fired by more and more people in recent months, and this was particularly true of the youth."

When respondent is asked whether youth accepted Communist views at one time and then rejected them later on, he answers: "A considerable portion of youth was inclined to embrace Communism ideas because of youth's natural inclination to like the revolutionary, but its acceptance of Communist ideals and ideas last only as long as it did not experience the workings of the Communist regime, and even then it was only a sizable portion of youth - not even its majority. Most likely, it wasn't. To this certain portion of youth, the attractive force of ~~the~~ Communist ideology was the fact that Marx presents his ideals in a seemingly appealing logical way. For instance, the sequence of his reasonings go like this: historical materialism presupposes class struggle; class struggle presupposes exploitation and surplus values; surpluses, accumulation of goods; accumulation of goods cause crisis. The most regrettable fact that there was no coherent concept of the free world which could oppose these theories, and which could be presented in a way which appeals. In lack of such a beacon, people searching for solutions to mankind's plight, the portion of youth which was sold on Communism came into realizing the untenable basic errors of Communism only when the practice of Communism proved that it wasn't feasible. I think the same may be said, not only of Hungary, but of other satellite countries as well. This is why people in the satellites resent and oppose the prevailing situation, but have not yet crystallized a positive program, but have rather stopped at the negative attitude of rejecting Communism, and not knowing well enough should take its place."

"Let me say at this point, that, it is extremely hard to estimate how large a proportion of youth believed Communism for a while, and for how long a time, but one fact is undeniably clear; there are extremely few people left in the fall of 1956 who believed in Communism."

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MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

Respondent lists the following points as the main dissatisfactions in Communist Hungary, as they showed up in every-day life:

1. Intimidation. By intimidation respondent means not only the actual hearings and tortures of the AVH, but also like being called to the personnel department and hearing that inquiries were made of the custodian of the apartment house in which people lived. Respondent tells a story about a young married couple who lived in the state of deathly fear for weeks and weeks. The husband was a teacher and he was called in one day by his principal and was told that the AVH asked about him, but was told that this was a secret and he mustn't tell anyone. When he went home, he was told the same by the custodian of the house. These people were prepared for the worst, and particularly after they learned that the wife who also was a teacher was inquired about in the same way by the AVH. They took emergency steps and prepared clothing which they would take with them if the AVH came to fetch them ~~with their belongings~~ for captivity, and they took cautionary steps talking over with relatives and friends who and how the children would be cared for should they be whisked away. Finally the man was called into the AVH headquarters and he thought that this was the end. But the AVH told him to run for representative of their district. Now another period of deathly fear followed because the couple were most anxious not to accept this "honor" so as not to compromise themselves. At the same time, they were anxious not to make it clear to the AVO that they hated Communism as sin. It was a long time before they were free from both dangers. One, to be drafted to become a Communist representative and the other becoming deported because of refusal to serve the Party.

2. Schedules beyond working time; extraordinary assignments, in Party work.

3. Mandatory overtime which was made twice as bad by the transparent lie that this overtime was offered by the workers themselves, ~~in their~~ in their enthusiasm for Communism.

4. Party meetings and Party seminars and over-politicized vocational courses which many people had to attend ~~in~~ even when they were not Party members.

5. Difficulties in transportation, particularly during the rush hours.

6. Scarcity of basic food and clothing; long cues in front of shops.

7. Constant difficulties in telephoning because of busy circuits.

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THE POLITICAL LIFE.

Respondent says that he was very much interested in politics before 1948. He first became seriously interested in political issues when he became a ^{leading} member of the democratic student unity women in the Academy in 1942 and 1943. This student movement which had been founded in the previous academic year by Julius Nyikos was Hungary's first democratic student movement, and it opposed Nazism and pro-Nazism as well as Communism and pro-Communism, and politically speaking it called itself THE THIRD SIDE. Respondent participated in the summer of '43 in the anti-Nazi convention of this student unity movement, and of the peasant organization and of the socialist-youth organization and the YMCA and other anti-Nazi democratic organizations. And the same was true about the anti-Nazi convention of March, 1944...just a few days prior to the German invasions of Hungary, where a proclamation of youth was prepared by all anti-Nazi forces of youth; it was respondent who saved this convention from failure by a compromise motion which he submitted. The Socialist Youth Organization and the Pro-Communist Youth Organization wanted the convention to adopt a point among the others of the proclamation which ~~was~~ said: "We accept Socialism." Julius Nyikos (attending the convention illegally, because by then he was in the Hungarian army) submitted a counter-motion to exclude this point and promised to use all of his personal influence to kill the student's unity movement which had been founded by him if this movement subscribed to this point of the proclamation. Finally, respondent submitted a compromise solution which was that the debate over this point be adjourned until another convention which was to be held in the summer, and that the anti-Nazi proclamation be adopted without this point for the time being. This motion was carried.

By the end of October, 1944, respondent was arrested by the Gestapo because of his operation in the FREEDOM FRONT HUNGARIAN STUDENTS RESISTANCE MOVEMENT which grew out of the anti-Nazi conventions mentioned before. Respondent ~~was~~ was in captivity of Gestapo until January 15, 1945 when he escaped during an air raid while he was being transferred from one prison to another.

In the early days of '45, a comprehensive democratic youth organization was formed in Hungary. The national chairman of which Sander Kiss. The name of this organization was ~~was~~ MADISZ. Respondent became national chairman of the high school and college student organizations. He was elected in free, democratic elections. During his national chairmanship, he followed the same principles as in the student unity movement, and

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at the national convention of the MADISZ, he followed the democratic principles of the national student unity movement. The student organizations of the various colleges and large departments of the Budapest University were completely autonomous and they had the freedom of action. The only way of reaching was persuasion; there were no orders. The system of completely democratic and the student unity movement was continued now without being hindered by the government as before. When the MADISZ came more and more under the influence of the Communists and more and more were against this influence, Sandor Kiss resigned; respondent and his co-workers left MADISZ. Instead of having a student centre with the MADISZ they founded MEFESZ. Respondent was twice elected national chairman of the MEFESZ until January 1947. MEFESZ carried on the same democratic principles of the MADISZ and its predecessor the student unity movement. They engaged in no party politics whatsoever, and pursued above all a course in which representation of student interests was the main goal of the MEFESZ. According to statistics, only 8% of their student members were Party members, at the same time. The autonomous student organization of colleges and departments of Budapest Universities, as well as the national headquarters kept complete free from an Communistic influences. They took protection of students' ^{interests} so seriously that they went on a general strike, on one occasion, because of an unfavorable tuition fee ruling of the Universities, and they managed to win their point.

When respondent is asked about his membership in, or sympathy for, political parties respondent answered that radicalism always attracted him, but he saw tremendous problems unsolved, and when he saw the social inequities in Hungary and he saw that a tremendous oppression kept the Hungarian people down, an oppression which came from North Germany, he sympathized for about three months with the Communists, but in about three months he saw the farce that is called Communism. Later he studied Communism and its theories and in its practices as well, and he never was again attracted to it. ~~sincerely~~ Neither Communist theories nor Communist practices could win him, nor his sympathies.

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Thus neither respondent nor any of his family belonged to any party, however, he had a great many friends in most parties - actually in all parties. Many of these friends tried to win respondent over to join this, or that, party but he never made up his mind. He liked independence, and to vote for the person or the issue.

When in 1947, the Communists staged a coup d'etat with the MAFESZ, respondent was left high and dry and from then on he didn't take part in any political activities until his arrest in October, 1948.

When respondent's feeling about the Communist Party before 1948 are asked, he says that after the brief initial period of sympathizing he recognized Communism for what it is, and considered it contrary to human nature, and the terror apparatus with which it was working, he considered utterly dismaying. The Communists, he says, were not aware of how to bring about necessary social changes.

Respondent has a thorough knowledge of the regime of Bela Kun and the Communist Party of 1918, and 1919. His attitude is that it was also a regime of terror and even its memories filled the Hungarian people with bitterness.

Asked about his attitudes toward the Communist Party before and during the war, respondent tells us that he knew very little before the war but during the war he knew some communist cells and the Communists appealed to him at that time, as the ones who wanted to have radical change in social and economic life, and also as one of motors of anti-Nazi fight.

In 1945, respondent explains he unveiled Communism in his own mind and went further from it more and more, although he never had actually embraced it, but from now on he felt it stranger and stranger. Before long he turned against it with full persuasion.

B. Communist Party after 1948:

Asked about the members of the Communist Party, what they were like and why they joined, etc. respondent offers the following break-down:

- (1) A number of Communists had been illegal members prior to 1945. -most of these were persuaded idealists; at least people who had been idealists and saw no better way for them but to continue, although they lost their idealism. These again can be broken up into the following groups: (a) those

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illegally in Hungary, part of them in jails; (b) those who in Russia were called Moscovites; (c) those participating in the Spanish civil war; (d) those in exile in Western countries, like Switzerland and England.

(2) A much larger number joined in 1945. (a) A number joined because they were persuaded Communists; (b) a number had been persecuted by the Nazi's - a large number among them were Jews - and they hoped for opposite treatment at the hands of the Communists. These saw, above all, ~~themselves~~ in Communism, a fierce opponent. (c) Of course, there were a large number of opportunists.

(3) A number of people joined the Communist Party between 1947 and '48, and even later: (a) Most of these were the opportunists who wanted to get into high paying and convenient jobs where they would have a lot of power; (b) There was a number who were forced - mainly those fathers with families who were forced to secure a livelihood for their loved ones, and needed to avoid harassment. It was characteristic of these that they called their membership cards "Red Cards". These poor people sweat blood when they studied Party ideology, but they were made to do so. Others, in highly responsible positions, joined under pressure - such as doctors, teachers, and a few in administration and many other fields - who thought it was their responsibility to do the best for all for the common good, and thought it would be better to stay in their positions and do what they could, otherwise, victory Communists would take over and cause untold harm. Respondent adds, that it is only by their acts we can really know what type of Communists people were.

When respondent is asked if those who joined the Party in 1945 were of such people and people who were forced to join, he admits that there was such a group. He says we have to be very careful in not being too lenient in our judging the Nazi-the pro-Nazi's who became Communists in 1945. He concludes with a quotation from the Bible: "By their fruits, ye will know them."

When respondent is asked about the attitude on the members to the Party, he offers the break-down.

One after the other of the groups of Communists became disillusioned. First, to be disillusioned, were such idealist Communists who had been illegally Communists prior to 1945. Respondent names two - one of them is Aladar Weisshaus, and Demeny. He says of Aladar Weisshaus is a living saint, if he is still living, because respondent doesn't know how he participated in the revolution, and what was his fate.

The second group to be disillusioned was the people who joined the Party in 1945 because of persuasion or of serious sympathies.

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The third were such who had been persecuted by ~~Nazis~~ Nazis and who sought refuge and solution in Communism in 1945.

The fourth in sequence were those who had been in exile in the West and were idealist Communists.

The fifth were such who had participated in the Spanish Civil war. Respondent explains that are his own estimates based on much experience both in and out of jail and prison camps, and he explains that only a few of these people dared to leave the Party. This is why he lists these groups in answer to the question: how Party members felt about the Party.



Asked about changes in Party policies during the last eight years, respondent says: "I was in prison but still I learned about major changes and I can conclude the following: by 1948, the so-called "Stalinist" techniques did their part and were responsible for breaking up the opposition parties, thus facilitating the coup d'etat carried out by the Communists. In 1948, a ~~xxx~~ period of Stalinism followed, and it was ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ characterized by anti-Tito-ism, and by anti-Americanism, and so-called anti-imperialism in foreign policy. It could be called a wild campaigning against almost everyone, and almost everything that was not subservient to Moscow. In this period, mass arrests were carried out on the domestic front. A so-called "mixed-chain-link policy" was announced and practiced. Its main features were catching people who were guilty of (a) conspiracy; (b) illegal border-crossing; (c) spying; (d) undermining people's economy, and sabotage; (e) right-wing socialist deviations. It was in this phase that the term "bathroom-escapees" was current in Hungary. This expression meant people who were persecuted because they were suspected of having planned to escape to the West. The origins of the term is the fact that one could assume that one would escape via the bathroom. This phase which lasted until 1953 was characterized by the extension of the jail system or a network of interment camps into which people were put ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ even without a sentence of the Kangaroo court. This was a period of forced labor camps for women with children; of slave labor camps which were completely isolated from even the surrounding villages; it was the period of prisons, jails, and penitentiaries completely filled. ~~xxx~~ at least, by secret installations, completely isolated, of the police ~~xxxx~~ state-like one terrible prison under the Koztarsasag Tor (Koztarsasag Square). The least penalty was given to someone like Zoltan Tildy, the former Hungarian President of the Republic was ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ - the "house arrest."

(unprisoned at home to "save face")

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In economy this Stalinist period was characterized by the forced imposition of heavy industry on the Hungarian economy, and the introduction of forced collectivization of bonds.

The great change, respondent explains, was provided by Imre Nagy assuming power in 1953, and by his liberalization of Communism. It was then that a slow intellectual ferment started that ultimately led to the Revolution of 1956.

This is how respondent replies to the question of what the top leaders of the Communist Party are like - their aims and their motives: "It is a question difficult to answer. The highest leadership of the Party has never had any real contact with the common people. They lived in a vacuum, associating only with each other in exclusive clubs, theatres and even shops. They learned about the people only from the reports by the AVH and from stool pigeons' reports. Szalay and Hegedus, and others, when they became members of the high Party leadership, had to interrupt all contacts with their old friends and acquaintances; even, with relatives in most cases. These friends, acquaintances and relatives ~~xx~~ were not trusted Party members. Consequently, people didn't have a chance to learn about the convictions of these high Party leaders."

When respondent is asked about the motives and personality and the deep-seated traits of personalities of these leading Communists, he offered to give a brief description of two such high Party leaders whom he happens to know personally. Andras Hegedus was in 1954 in Nazi German captivity. In 1945, he became a member of the Provisory Parliament in Debrecen. Since 1945, he has been a member of the Communist Party, and member of the Parliament representing the Party. He ~~was~~ is an immensely modest and enthusiastic patriot in his college years; he was poorly dressed and was a person who could be recognized as an idealist. Already in his college years - during the war - he canvassed people into the Communist Party. After 1945, he was eager to assume a leading role in the MADSZ. He became its organizing secretary. In 1948, after Erno Gero lifted him out of mediocre roles and made him the leader of the agricultural department of the Party, - from then on, Hegedus had to break up all former ties. From then on he never had any contact with former friends. Up to then, he lived with graduate students; then, however, he received a special dwelling in the most exquisite residential section of Budapest - Kossadomb. In 1953, he became Minister of Agricultural and was instrumental in Imre Nagy's liberalization policy re: agricultural. Later the Rakosi gang made him Premier and then he criticised Imre Nagy's program. He was Premier until the Revolution.

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It was apparent that he lost all sense as what was actually going on in Hungary to a degree that when one of his former friends called him up Oct. 23, and told him that he had to stop the bloodshed by ordering the AVH not to fire at the demonstrators, he answered: "Why are you so nervous, comrades? In an hour or so, everything will be quiet again." At last he had to flee to Moscow to avoid questioning by the people.

Belay Szalay was a close acquaintance of respondent between 1940 and 1944. In 1944, he became a ~~member~~ a leader of the Anti-Bolshevist Youth Front which was an extreme right organization of the Imredy group. They weren't Nazi but certainly something to be called extreme right. In 1945, he joined the Communist Party and he also joined the Gyorffy Kollegium which was a famous dormitory established for people of peasant origin who had no means to pay their way through college and university. Members of the Gyorffy Kollegium enjoyed, at that time, very good connections, and ~~was~~^{became} one of the pet projects of the left wing political parties. Szalay took advantage of the Gyorffy Kollegium and he became an official of the Budapest chapter of the Communist Party Youth Organization. He denounced former friends with whom he had been during the Anti-Bolshevist Youth Front.

Respondent says that Szalay is a mediocre parrotying "yes" man; he accepts Party line without question.

Continuing the story of Szalay, respondent relates that in January, 1947, Szalay both aspired and was designated by the Communist Party to become the next chairman of the MAFESZ and it was he who carried out in cold blood in an arrogant and cynical way, the coup d'etat within the MAFESZ, WHICH made out of a Democratic Student organization a tool of the Communist Party. After his MAFESZ chairmanship, he became assistant chairman of MIVSZ, and later he became the ~~sakksak~~ chairman of the national office of Plans. He was a member of the Central Party Committee, that is to say the Bureau. During the chairmanship of the Office of Plans, he made grave mistakes, and was fired. The same was true of his being Minister of Light Industry. After Rakosi was forced to resign and Imre Nagy took over, it was Szalay who prepared, with a few co-workers, the come-back of Rakosi. Istvan Kovacs was Szalay's best help. Szalay was swept away only by the Revolution, and he fled to Moscow. Since then he hasn't dared to return to Hungary.

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After having told us these two examples, respondent volunteers to summarize his opinion, and says that the top leaders of the Communist Party there are three main groups:

- 1) Idealists who started ~~wikam~~ with the wish for healthy changes and considered the Communist Party the best means for accomplishing their dreams. As they advanced, to higher and higher positions in the Party hierarchy, they lost contact with the people ever more, and at last, they ~~ixm~~ turned completely against them.
- 2) Opportunists, egotistic mediocre apple-polishers and "yes" men.
- 3) Moscovites who spent years in Moscow and are above all Soviet citizens and devote their activities completely to Soviet goals.

Respondent says that there are no fanatics among the highest leaders of the Communists anymore. The ones who had been ~~purged~~ were purged. Respondent emphasizes in conclusion that by Oct. 28, 1956, there was just no communist party to speak of because the Revolution swept away the remainder of it.

Respondent says that when Hungary is independent, the top leaders of the Communist Party should be tried by court.

C. Opposition:

To the question as to whether there was any opposition to the Communist government before the revolution, respondent answers: "Always". He explains that before the revolution there were various forms of opposition. The forms varied, particularly according to social classes in which those concerned belonged. By social classes he thinks rather of occupations and professions than of various strata of society.

Labor hated the system of norms and of plans, big and small hated the system of work and working conditions, and voiced its opposition to these in unequivocal terms, speaking quite openly. Amazingly openly considering that Hungary was a police state. The intelligentsia tried to get more opportunity within the confines of the regime-for free information and free research. It took particularly great advantage of the liberalization process and prepared as hoped for era of even more liberalization. In other words it tried to pry open the lid of the regime, at least to loosen it up. The peasantry raised more and more its voice against the system of collectivization, and against forced redistribution of land, and the peasants turned more and more against the irresponsible caucus of leaders. More and more voices were raised against the encroachments of the in-gathering system. Clerks

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ways of overtime work more and more through their unions.

Summarily it may be said that most of the Hungarian people were in passive resistance against the regime. Among

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~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ it may be said that most of the Hungarian people were in passive resistance against the regime. Among friends and family all the arrested feelings were revealed. People hated the one-party system and the Communist kind of state economy and the misuse of administration. They hated party dictatorship in any field, particularly in housing and in public supplies. The profound and almost undivided hatred of the population manifested itself more and more.

To the question how effective these acts of opposition were in the eyes of respondent and of the people, respondent answers that resistance could be effective only if the opinions of people could be freely ~~XXXXX~~ revealed in politically formulated ways, and could be aired in the press, and beyond the confines of families and friend's circles. This process respondent explains started with irrepressible force in 1953, through Imre Nagy ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ so-called "True-way" also called "New" section. Imre Nagy himself announced that this way when he denounced ~~XX~~ Hegedus' policy as one that had caused 150 billion forints loss in the nation's economy or in other words, two years of gross national income. Rakosi tried to stop this process ever since 1954 when he came back, but he never really succeeded. Rakosi favored Nagy's program of reactionary deviation, and he affected the exclusion of Imre Nagy from the Party. Imre Nagy was the pride of his professorship, and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ his membership in the National Academy of Scientists was taken away.

Respondent thinks we should also list as opposition behaviour of one certain sort, the opposition against the Communist Party demonstrated by the anti-Communist parties. The people voiced their sentiments in the clearest way in elections. It was very significant to observe the backing the people gave so generously to the Small-Holder's Party between 1945 and 1947. The Communist Party did everything thing they could to break the backbone of the Small-Holder's Party and this terrific struggle in which the Communists fought with the so-called cumulated in Bela Kovacs' arrest, and in Ferenc Nagy so-called conspiracy trial. After the Small-holder's Party was broken up, the National peasant Party was also strongly opposed to Communist gains. Respondent mentions Imre Kovacs among those did a great deal against Communist influence after a period in which he was also going along with the Communists. A part of the social-democratic party played also a very strong role against the gains of Communism, particularly Anna Bethley, Kovacs, Kelemen. After the backbone of the small-holder's party was broken, new anti-communist parties were formed and they also demonstrated the resistance of the population against Communism, very clearly especially in the 1947 elections. Such parties were The Hungarian

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Independence Party; the Freedom Party; the Christian Democratic Party and the Liberal Party, and two more splinter parties .

Interviewer asked respondent to elaborate on the activities of the intellectuals with particular regard to the goings on in the Petofi Circle. The Petofi Circle was formed in 1954. There were only 12 persons who founded it, and noone was able to estimate the later significance of it at that time. The Petofi Circle was founded within the given circumstances as part of the DGSZ. Its goal was to legalise the friendly gathering; the friendly exchange of ideas which dealt with basic problems of National life. In the first phase of the Circle very few people took part in ~~its~~ the debates. Such a debate for instance, the one dealing with the drama named Dorza Gyorgy and Gyula Illyes. Another debate was about the situation of young engineers in Hungary. Towards the end of 1955, particularly in the atmosphere created by the 20th Party Congress of the Bolshevik Party, after Khrushchev's secret speech became known, and de-centralization began in certain sections of the Communist Party, the Petofi Circle dared to touch more delicate problems.

Its first debate of major significance was "The 20th Party Congress and the Science of History". This debate was held soon after the 20th Party Congress was held in the Spring of 1956. In this debate the problem of "Sciencelessness" that is to say, the lack of scientific approach which was in this area of the science of history particularly prevalent was attacked by sharp words. It was the first time that this angle was touched on during the Communist regime. The debate made it clear that history was lowered to the level of Party brochures and that Party leaders played a significant role. ~~xxxxxxx~~ All the following points came out clearly in the debate:
The method was dogmatic application of historical materialism, according to which history is but a series of class struggle; research in archives became wallright unknown to young historian because the official credited historians didn't have to prove the reliability of their data. History books had to be readied again and again, according to changes in Party outlooks. These, and similar facts were revealed in elaborate detail at that session of the Petofi Circle. At that time, respondent participated only as one of the participants in the debate and played no special role at all. Debaters demanded the return to objective research in archives and the presentation of source material. The several hundred participants in the ~~sessions~~ of the Officer's Casino applauded to the sharp ~~xxx~~ criticism's of the debaters.

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Another debate of the Petofi Circle which drew a large crowd and which brought out many points into the open was held under the heading: "The 20th Party Congress and Philosophy". In the course of this debate the situation of Gyorgy Lukacs, professor of Philosophy who was purged in 1948, was discussed. His dismissal was considered very unjustified. Among others, one of his sayings were: "If a mouse is on top of a mountain, it still isn't any larger than an elephant in the valley." Lukacs had found that the work of non-Marxist philosophers had to be built just as well and just as seriously as with that of the Marxist philosophers.

One participant argued that only because Stalin had written in a few pages of his work "dialectical materialism" the philosophical say that this doesn't ~~make~~ make a study of great thinkers of that same age, and of previous ages unnecessary. Another participant objected to young "experts" in philosophy who graduated recently from Universities and colleges and who have never read the actual works of Santyana, Dewey, or James in original, but only the criticisms dealing with the ideas of these and other philosophers. He argued that it was ~~known~~ known only through Laszlo Rudas - a top Communist ideologist - what existentialism and who Jaspers is. He and others argued that students graduating recently don't have basic ideas about the unfolding of a new picture of the world which was made possible by the recent development of natural sciences and which changed basic philosophical concepts. The philosophy of nature, of Ebbington and Jeans perplexes our philosophers in Hungary and leaves them in utter confusion, it was argued. The official definition of "matter" ("matter isn't anything but objective ~~reality~~ reality, independent of our consciousness"), didn't appear any more satisfactory in the light of modern sciences particularly as explained by Jeans, the debaters argued - "We have to thoroughly investigate the consequences derived from entropy, the second tenet of thermo-dynamics"; one debater argued, and the reasoning of this ~~debater~~ ~~participant~~ participant was followed by a stormy debate. Many pros and cons were aired and the conclusion of the debate was: "The source of philosophy can be cultivated only as a special branch of science, although it is the comprehensive science of all. The renaissance of philosophy, the conclusion went, is imaginable only if complete freedom of information and investigation would be secured as it would for any other science."

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Such debates aroused everyone's interest in the Petofi Circle. Its meetings were looked forward to because they were a new color in the uniformity of Communism dogmatism. Special attraction was provided by the fact that the debates of the Petofi Circle were attended by a good number of the best experts in various fields (scientists, artists, economists, educators, and above all, writers) of the country. There were quite a few writers who- though belatedly still earlier than in other countries of the Communist block - recognized the necessity of change in the intellectual ~~renaissance~~ renaissance.

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Respondent took part ~~as~~ participant in these debates and had no special role.

The topic of another discussion of the Petofi Circle was also in the spring of 1956. "The 20th Party Congress and Economics" The irresponsible economic policies of Rakosi were discussed. In the course of the discussion it became known that 10% of the country's agricultural land - that is one and half million acres was uncultivated in the last year because of forced collectivizations and because of the fact that a part of the population left for large industrial centers. The debaters scrutinized the program of the first 5-year Plan and particularly the promise of ~~that plan~~ that plan that a 50% raise in living standards and a great abundance of products and goods would be achieved. Reality showed it was made clear, that production was greatly hampered by the rigid norm system, and the relative and absolute ~~exploitation~~ exploitation of workers. (Relative exploitation means that during the same period of time more had to be produced and that meant that the workers had to extend the working time) It was admitted that the production level was raised, but that the living standard of the working didn't rise at all, and it even sunk. The debate uncovered the fact that the reason for all of this was to be found in the unfavorable and uneconomical investments in the incompetent economical planning, which operated with figures sometimes much too high for the actual need; and in some cases with figures much too low for the actual need. Other factors hampering production were over-administration of the economical life and incompetent in high administrative posts in economic life, who had been imposed because of political reasons. These were the points made in the debate. Even unfavorable foreign trade agreements were mentioned. The participants in the debate mentioned the article by Imre Nagy (which had appeared Oct. 1954) in which he had argued that the planning practice of the Communists which held that the increase of heavy industry may not slow down - either absolutely or percentage-wise - (proportionately) - was a grave mistake, and that manufactures of commodities had to be ~~pushed~~ pushed. This participant mentioned

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that Imre Nagy was right. (In spite of the fact that he was attacked by the Communist hierarchy). It was argued that Nagy economical ~~xxxxxxxx~~ policies were proven right by the results of 1954. In '54, namely, the relation of purchasing power and of the quantity of products were more or less harmonized and in the last quarter of '54 the currency ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ^{inflation} which had been constancy rising was temporarily stopped. It was brought out that a marked improvement followed Imre Nagy policies even in the balance of foreign trade. The debaters maintained that Imre Nagy' efficient economical policy was criticized on false ground, and that upon the return of Rakosi, the Communist leadership returned to the old senseless, investment policies, and again lost sight of the immense significance of the production of commodities. This participant stirred up a terrific debate. Another participant dealt with the problem of the Institute of Economic Research and he criticized economics in Hungary - was stagnating, and that the official bulletin of the IER was nothing but a rubber stamp of the classic works of Marx - insipid repetition of economic doctrines of Lenin and Stalin. He emphasized that original and independent ideas were completely missing and suggested that thinkers be not afraid of making mistakes because mistakes in any scientific approach often are necessary and may have in some cases more merit in the final end than truisms which have become platitudes.

One functionary of the Budapest Party Committee also spoke who defended Stalin's economic policies and tried to expound the principle that first, the production of means of production are necessary, so that the production of commodities can be carried out. He argued that the nation's leadership follows the economic policies as advocated by the speaker so critical of the policy of the government, the nation sells its future for its present.

The Party functionary's speech was accompanied with many protesting remarks from the audience. The next speaker expounded upon the untenable nature of the Party functionary's contention. The last speaker also said that it is because of the principle which the Party functionary advocated, mainly that we mustn't sell our glorious future for our present. It is just this principle, because of which, the Hungarian people always sacrifice their present. The Hungarian people have a right to live, he argued and to live in the present. This present must not be sacrificed for the future which is interesting, so far, only in promises.

Respondent and friends got together with such speakers after the sessions and talked things over quite openly in private homes, and made new friends with such people.

The Petofi Circle was becoming more and more famous and was appreciated very much by the Hungarian population. Even Szabad Nep, the official Party organ, came to praise the Petofi Circle in an article under the heading "At the

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Daylight of the Intellect" which appeared June 24, issue.

The most significant meeting of the Petofi Circle took place on June the 27, 1956. The topic of discussion was: "Hungarian Journalism". The two most outstanding speakers in the ensuing debate were Tibor Dery and Tibor Tardos. Dery's speech came, and the moderator concluded that all these speeches made it clear that a tremendous gap was existing between reality and word-pictures as presented in newspapers. Tibor Dery delved deeply into the subject and explained that the main reason was the policy of the Communist Party which didn't want anything to be written as they were, but only as they ought to have been, or as they should be in the future. His quite daring remarks concluded with his saying that he didn't trust the future leadership of the country, nor did he trust those who were to follow in their footsteps - their successors. Tibor Tardos spoke on similar lines.

The top physicist, Professor Janosi, also spoke (the first time!) and he brought up (the first time!) the problem of the uranium mines. He put his finger on the tremendous lack of information and communications in this matter. He said that he learned only lately that Hungary possessed very rich uranium mines and the products of it were exported to the Soviet Union under the label Baucsit No. 2.

This entire meeting of June the 27th was attended by about 6,000 people. The debate started at about 7:00 P.M. and lasted until 4:00 A. M. The entire atmosphere was sizzling with excitement, and was a small revolution by itself, respondent remarks.

Next day, the Szabad Nep wrote in an understanding manner about this debate, because of the identity of the vocabulary used during the debate, and because of the unanimous nature of the discussion, or at least almost unanimous nature.

On June the 29th, reports of the Poznan riots reached Hungary. According to these reports (official Communist reports) counter-revolutionary forces caused great harm and brought lots of destruction. The Communist Parties Central Committee resolved to take a decisive step. It called the Central Party leadership into session. This session, at which they labeled the activities of the Petofic Circle as counter-revolutionary. Dery and Tardos were ~~purged~~ purged as Party members, and the Petofic Circle was denounced in no uncertain terms. In ~~fact~~ fact, the Petofic Circle became a target of attacks.

Sentiment in Hungary had developed too far, by then, and it was impossible to stop. So far as its attacks on the Petofi Circle, there were two surprises in store for the Communist Party: (1), the Party wished to have the committees of the Petofic Circle condemned at public meetings, but the workers were reluctant to follow orders. They referred to two facts: (a) similar declarations had to be made several times in the past, for instance, in the case of the Rajk persecution, and at long last, it became known Rajk had been hanged and was the victim of villains; (b) On June the 24th, the article in Szabad Nep went out of its way to support the activities of the Petofi Circle and the article which did so was expressing editorial opinion: "At the Daylight of the Intellect". This article explained how much the discussions of the Petofi Circle were wanted, and how little a place Army discipline and atmosphere had in intellectual life.

The Petofi circle was finally condemned only by a few Party employees, for instance, Katalin Foldes, one of the Party functionaries of Budapest Committee. She wrote a letter to the editor of the Szabad Nep. It appeared under the title: "Democracy Should be Afraid of Demagoguery rather than the Party".

Another surprise was provided by something which never happened before in the history of Communist Parties. The Communist Party Organization of the Writer's Association (where Tardos and Dery belonged) sent a message to the Central Party Hdqts that they did not recognize the excommunication of the Dery and Tardos. This was the first instance when administration orders of the Communist Party failed completely.

As a consequence of this unheard of incident, Mikoyan was sent to Budapest on July 16th, and he told Rakosi that he had to resign as first secretary of the Party. Rakosi clung to his office until the last moment and even called up Khrushchev who told Rakosi (in a brutal tone, not uncommon to him) that this was the last word of the Kremlin and that Rakosi should resign instantly. This is how the big Party Bossák resigning came about in which he referred to his state of health, to his age and to the mistakes he had committed in the field of personal cult and socialist legitimacy. His long term as national Party secretary ended ~~xxxx~~ thus as a consequence of the activities of the Petofi Circle.

Rakosi's successor became Erno Gero. It was his assignment to take over, by seemingly appeasing policies, but actually adhering to the old line. Erno Gero referred to the June 27th meeting of the Petofic Circle in his outstanding speech of July 19th and called it a "little Pagan", but at the same time, he sounded notes of conciliation toward the Petofi Circle at the end of his speech. He explained that the Petofic Circle became the centre of new

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political grouping, but nothing else could be a political centre except the Polit Bureau and he extended his remarks by suggesting that a ~~Baskya~~ ~~Assamitashad taxixqak~~ Petofi Circle should be put under the direction of a DOSZ. Respondent explains that they found Gero's speech bluffing and something not backed by real force. It seemed to respondent and his friends that the Petofi Circle won this battle, and that it could go over on another attack on the policies of the government.

It was at this point that respondent became a member of the executive committee of the Petofi Circle.

Respondent explains that while speaking of the activities of the Petofi Circle he also should refer to other signs of intellectual ferment. He says that from the Spring of 1956, mainly two magazines, the IRODALMI UJSAG and HETFOI HIRLAP, but other papers such as NEPSZAVA AND MOZIUJSAG, and more and more papers and magazines spoke surprisingly courageous language. Respondent remarks that NEPSZAVA HAD BEEN UNTIL THEN NOTHING ELSE BUT A SOUNDING BOARD OF THE OFFICIAL PARTY ORGAN, and that MOZIUJSAG was entirely insignificant magazine devoted until then to nothing else but to writing about motion pictures. But it was MOZIUJSAG that published one the greatest poems of Gyula illyes and more and more the papers and magazines began to have real content, whereas all of them, up until now, had the mere function of rubber stamps.

Meanwhile, the historical fact, that the oil fields of Lisse were exhausted came to light. The wasteful management of natural resources which was so common with the Communist regime backfired now, in the case of the oil fields. The oil fields gushed water. ~~XXXX~~ This fact assumed a significance far beyond its immediate effects on economic life - all the more since in 1949 the head engineer of the oil fields of Lisse was sentenced to jail because of "sabotage". His sabotage consisted of his opposing this wasteful mismanagement of the oil fields, and he warned, on basis of his own calculations, that the oil fields would produce oil only for six or seven years. Now his predictions came true, and he was still sitting in jail as ~~axkxomax~~ an hamperer of production.

The Petofi Circle took advantage of this situation and announced a meeting with the topic: "THE PROBLEM OF THE OIL FIELDS." In course of that debate, they found opportunity to discuss the stupidity of the policy of the Party once more.

The next debate centered around the topic of the country's agriculture. This session was particularly important because Zoltan Tildy, former President of the Hungarian Republic, also spoke - the first time in public in a number of years after Holz error. Lary Nagy also attended but he didn't speak, but another big name, Zoltan Vas rose to speak, then he not only didn't rebuke

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the other speakers, but in fact, he himself was quite critical of the forced Collectivization policies of the government.

A particular color was lent to this meeting, that all the comments of the participants was accompanied by one of them frequently remarking and when this participant was given the word - without his asking for it - it turned out that he was a peasant from Tolna County. He took a trip to Budapest for no other reason to attend the meeting of the Petofi Circle. When he took the floor he started his remarks by saying that he came to this meeting because he heard that this was the only place in the country where one could say what he thought was true. He spoke of collectivization in agriculture; of the diminishing number of cattle and pigs, and of the setbacks in animal husbandry, of the mistakes committed by the tractor stations; he advocated an economy of independence of farms, with orchards and products that need manual handling. His speech was received with great applause.

Meanwhile the Petofi Circle worded a statement consisting of ten demands, on the occasion of I're Nagy' rehabilitation and his readmission into the ranks of the Communist Party. Among the ten points were the following:

"A general Party convention has to be called into session immediately and I're Nagy has to be among the attendants."

Rakosi - still a member of the Central Committee of the Party - has to be deprived of ~~his~~ every office of the Party."

"Mihaly Farkas and Vladimir Farkas have to be given public trial."

"A division of the foreign trade agreements should be conducted."

When the free MEFESZ organization students was founded in Szeged and worded its demands in a declaration to the nation, it used part of the ten points of the Petofi Circle and added "national" demands to them, like the celebration of March 15, and worded altogether 16 points.

Before long, other MEFESZ organizations were set up or were in the stage of being set-up at other Universities; particularly in Budapest.

Gomulka's speech at the Party Congress of the Polish Communist Party was surprisingly liberal, and the Hungarian students mainly the leaders of these MEFESZ organizations decided to express their support for the Polish moves, and prepared great public demonstrations, When the Minister of Interior announced over the radio ~~that these demonstrations wouldn't receive permission of the authorities,~~ the Petofi Circle - joining forces with the Writers Assn. - called on ~~Laszlo Piroc,~~ Laszlo Piroc, Minister of Interior, and representatives told Piroc that if he didn't permit the demonstrations, the bitter sentiments of the students might erupt in an explosion, but at the

[Handwritten signature]

same time, this refusal on the part of the Minister of the Interior to permit demonstrations would be interpreted as a step against the Polish Brother Party. There were some students of the Technical Universities Engineering School, with the delegates of the Petofi Circle and the Writers Association, and they asked the Minister to go to the Technical University because they could not be held responsible for what was going to happen there if the authorities took no steps to soothe the sentiment of these students. Minister Pirocs gave an ear to this request and he went over to the Technical University and held a speech together with Colonel Marian, head of the Institute of Military Science of the Technical University.

Concluding his story of the Petofi Circle, respondent explains that it was only during the revolution that the Petofic Circle's executive committee held a meeting on October 29, and that respondent was elected chairman of the Petofi Circle. Until then they had had no chairman at all; all they had was a secretary who was Gabor Tanczos. The election of respondent to Petofi Circle's chairmanship was ratified by a broad leadership of the Petofi Circle on November 3rd.

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THE APPARATUS OF POWER

D. The Russian Troops

When respondent is told that some people say that Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848, he expresses his thoughts in the following words:

"No, that is a mistake. Doubtless in 1848 Paskievicz crushed the Hungarian war of Independence, but the evaluation of this single fact is a matter of history, and people are not much concerned with it as far as the attack on the Russians is concerned. Not even the events of World War I are of much meaning in the controversy in the fight existing between the Hungarians and the Russians as of now. On the occasion of the first world war, soldiers who had contacted Russian soldiers, established friendly relations with them in spite of the fact that they were enemies. The general picture was that Russian prisoners of war were treated very well in Hungary. Among many other reasons, there was a generally shared belief between Hungarian peasants that they can ask the Lord to have a good treatment for their own boys who were in captivity in Russia only in case they do give good humane treatment to the Russian prisoners in Hungary. Quite a few Russian prisoners of war liked it so much in Hungary that they rather stay there and never return to Russia. The situation greatly changed after the second world war because of the Russian occupation, when the Russian, that is to say, the Soviet Army didn't display characteristics of Russian mentality, but became a tool of the designs of an imperialist power bent on colonization. Well, when this happened, Hungarians became hostile in their feelings toward the Russian soldiers. Still, most people could differentiate and not the Russian people were hated by the Hungarians so much as the Russian soldiers. In fact, I should rather say that the Russian people were not hated at all, only the Russian soldiers, and even much more ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ than the soldiers was hated the political and social system whose representatives the soldiers were, unwittingly and unwillingly, and whose orders they carried out. Thinking Hungarians hold that atrocities and the manifestation of brutal force in group as well as in individual cases, and the lack of culture in most of the Russian soldiers, were due to the philosophy of the social system. It was due to this system that even people who ~~xxxx~~ dealt with Russian literature extensively as their profession, or others who translated works of Turgenev, Tolstoi and ^{Dostoyevskiy} ~~.....~~ and who had the attitude ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ of some mastery toward the Russian people and the Russian genius, also turned against the Russian occupation because of its misdeeds. Even the believers turned against it who expected the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ disciplined and "social philosophy" ~~xxxx~~ army of world communism come liberating Hungary. Yes, even those who expected that the Red Army would act like the fairies in fairy tales who punish the villains and reward the poor and wretched, these people had to realize that something quite different happened. Soviet troops looting did not discriminate whether the looted or raped, were poor or worthy people. While the German occupation troops looted "only" enterprises, shops, institutions, the looting of the Russians was by no means restricted to the same which remained intact, or were not looted by the Germans, but it extended also to the

personal property and entered family homes without the slightest show of having qualms or conscience. Floods of innocent young girls, or ~~grandmothers~~ ^{old} grandmothers did not deter Russian soldiers from what ever they meant to commit. Reference to their poor and being part of the downtrodden masses did not hold back the Russian soldiers from looting and raving. The people whom they were supposed to "liberate" - Many of the former idealist communists turned with the greatest of resentment and display against those Russian soldiers because they were so bitterly disappointed, and because they had the feeling they were repudiated by those Russians in the sight of their countrymen to whom they promised that the Russians were ^{disciplined} liberators.

"Much comfort could have been found in the fact that Russian officers behaved much better than Russian soldiers had it been the case, but it just wasn't. Communists would have had a good case could they have pointed to the fact that the ones who became the elite of the Communist organization are real communists as the system likes to depict its great heroes. Had the Russian soldiers been greatly surpassed in good behavior by their officers, I think the entire picture would have been different. But Hungarians found that the Russian officers were not only not much inspired by party ideology, they found also that they were savagely brutal ~~xxx~~ with those with whom they came into contact, but they lacked foundations of modern day civilization and culture. Grimy..... in Russian family homes as well as officers quarters and barracks was the rule rather than the exception. Hypocrisy in words as well as hypocrisy in deeds - hypocrisy in speeches, hypocrisy in publications - a hypocrisy which was not subtle at all, but open and brutal. This hypocrisy amounted to almost the same kind of behaviour which can be characterized ~~as~~ ^{by} an utterly primitive example: just imagine how people would feel about a hold-up man who would say, while pointing the pistol at his victims, and while taking away all they have, that he came as the benefactor of those people - first of all to enlighten their burdens so that they don't have to carry so much in their pockets, and secondly he came to make them stronger by showing them that they should lift their arms and exercise their muscles."

C. The Army.

When respondent is asked to give us some idea of the part played by the army during the revolution, he has this to say:

"It was on October the 23rd that I observed for the first time the soldiers of the Hungarian people's army deployed to suppress the expected turmoils, but the attitude of the soldiers left no doubt right in the first hours of their deployment. I first met them on the St. Stephen circle way in Hungarian Szent Istvan Korut. The soldiers were seated on trucks with their weapons in their hands, and a great many people of the streets surrounded them. People shouted to them: "Now boys the time has come when you have to know that you mustn't do anything against the Hungarian people!" There were only the political officers who replied to the crowd in an unfriendly way; the others were either silent, or sailed or waved or gave some friendly answers that they knew their duty to be on the side of the Hungarian people. The behaviour of the soldiers was clear in this case, as it became crystal clear in the following two days. Most of the soldiers joined the Hungarian revolution, at least in spirit, and practically the only ones who resisted were political officers, and the students of the political officers' schools. For instance, the Stalin political officers who were in the Huvosvolgy - but even the behaviour of the aforementioned political officer's school named after Stalin changed by about November the 3rd. We observed that these people had trucks with loud speakers with which they tried to influence the people in the street and always clearly revealed what they thought of the events. In the beginning, they called the revolutionaries fascists revolutionists. Later, ~~their tune~~ their tune improved day by day, and by about Nov. the 3rd, they called the freedom fighters actually "our freedom fighter brothers".

When respondent is asked about geographical differences, and differences in the behaviour of the enlisted men and officers, ~~and~~ NCO's, he answers: "There were no essential difference in either the geographical or the social ~~aspect~~ respect. We may call the attitude of the army people quite uniform. There were difference between officers and enlisted men in so far as officers were much slower to understand the genuine character of the Hungarian revolution. Enlisted men grasped what was at stake right at the ~~beginning~~ very first hours of the revolution. It was rather as a response to the tremendous pressure of the enlisted men and of the population that officers sided one after the other with the revolution, after the initial confusion. There were, however, units in which the attitude of the officers corps was also quite unanimous in supporting the revolution from its inception. Such werethe so-called specialized units, such as units of the armored divisions. The first armored units to appear in Budapest were those of the division of Szolnok. Among them were young students of the officer's school of the

armored division."

This is respondent's answer to the question as to whether he means by 'siding with the revolution' only a passive support or also an active participation in ~~the~~ actual combat, and whether there were only persons-individuals or entire ~~units~~ units which went over to the side of the revolution:

"Indeed, there were also entire units which hurried to the support of the revolution, and in other units ~~where~~ where they met resistance on the part of the officers, there were a great many individuals who sided with the revolution in active combat. Such units were dispersed as a rule; most of them went home and a great many of those who first went home took up arms and joined the fighting units of the freedom fighters in various points in the city. Joining the revolution, staying aloof, or not being able to join it because the officers locked them up in their barracks - well this picture became quite clear about October the 29th - that is to say by then everybody - every soldier was well in one role or another and the initial confusion ended."

When respondent is asked why there was not more resistance on November the 4th, he answers:

"Mainly because by then there just wasn't any effective military force that could have been deployed. There were units, rather smaller ones, which resisted heroically but they did not mean too much in the entire picture mainly because the re-organization of the Hungarian army had not taken place yet after the initial confusion and dispersal of a great many, or I should say, most units in the first few days of the revolution. Re-organization was hampered by a great many factors - mainly by lack of officers who were patriots and were neither communists nor fascists and who were in good health because, of course, a great many of them had been wrecked in various prisons and concentration camps - I mean the officers of the army which existed before the communists took it over. Above all, there was no central leadership yet because the old one was not replaced yet by a new one which would have embraced the ideas of the revolution completely. The minister of defense and the chief of staff were engaged in negotiations with the enemy when the attack took place, and those were arrested right at the side of the negotiations by the Russians. As a consequence, all the troops which were loyal to the revolution stood without any central leadership, and they were able to act only upon the leadership of the local commanders. Because of the general breakdown of communications, there was no real connection between the commanders ~~xxx~~ of the various units. Russian army units were deployed in the way that they separated Hungarian army units from each other."

D. Russian troops.

When respondent is asked what he expected from the Russian army before they marched into Hungary in 1945, or rather before they fought their way into Hungary in 1945, he comes up with this answer:

"I expected that the Soviet troops which were after all one part of the allied military powers would follow the principles laid down by the allied army commanders as well as the leaders of those countries in various ~~many~~ international agreements. When mentioning this, I am referring mainly to the hope that there would never be any dictatorship under the ~~uncontrolled~~ control of any allied units. I also expected that the isolation of Hungary was forced into during the German occupation would also end once and for all. All in all, I expected that the Soviet troops would rather help than hamper Hungary to find its rightful place in the family of nations of the world, because I saw in them a tool of the international policies of the allies. At the same time, I expected that the Russian army would be a military force standing on the firm ground of ideological convictions which I didn't share, but from which I hoped that they would act according to principles, and certainly in a disciplined way. What we experienced, however, was just the opposite of what I expected. It became soon very clear that the Russian occupation forces did in no way represent the policies of the high leadership of the allies. They did not permit in any way Hungary to join the family of nations; on the contrary, they did everything in their power to prevent Hungary from doing so. They rather were bent on integrating Hungary into their not only ~~so-called~~ "sphere of influence" but also into their empire. The army turned out to be in no way an ideological army, as they liked to call themselves and to refer to themselves, but rather an army which looted Hungary not only the way the Russian army had done before - who looted only goods of the state and corporations and communities - No, the Russians did not stop at that, but went on looting the individual families and the individual persons as well."

Probes into the change of respondent's attitude toward the Russian army in Hungary since 1945, result in the following answers:

"My opinion did not change essentially since I formed it upon the experience of 1945. If there was any change it was for the worse. My real dissillusions came in 1945."

Respondent had no personal connection with any Russian soldiers after 1945, and neither did his relatives or friends have such, not that he knows of, or finds worth mentioning. He thinks that the relations between Hungarians and the pro-revolutionary occupation troops were not very good

because the Hungarians distrusted them. He thinks that there might have been some intercourse of local populations in various parts of the country, but not in Budapest where Soviet authorities completely isolated Russian families and Russian officers and soldiers from the population. The Russian families, for instance, in the Gorkij Fisor lived ~~in~~ completely separated from the local population. Their children went to their own schools, called Gorkij schools; they had their own theatres, both legitimate and movie theatres; they had their own special clubs, and their own shops and stores.

Respondent thinks that the Russian troops in the occupation army did not influence the Hungarians in any other way than that they alienated them from the Soviets as well as from Communism. Although Hungarians did not need this additional reason to feel hostile towards communism, he remarks.

Respondent had no contact with the Russian troops during the revolution.

Now respondent is asked how Russian troops behaved during the revolution and what attitude they showed through their actions. These are respondent's words:

"When in the first few days of the Hungarian revolution, Russian troops were deployed to suppress the revolt, their fighting force and their fighting spirit was certainly not comparable to the one they demonstrated when they came in as conquering force in 1945. In 1945, they had no inhibitions of any kind - moral or otherwise. In the first few days of the revolution, the Russian troops certainly demonstrated through their actions, that they had various considerations and inhibitions to go ahead in a similar manner as they had done in 1945. This might be due to their experiences in Hungary where up to that very moment they had seen a peaceful country and people simply going to their jobs and never showing any signs that could be interpreted as fascist or aristocratic or anything which the army leadership used to instill their soldiers against the Hungarian freedom fighters. The Russian troops certainly broke with their ruthless manner of fighting which was so characteristic of all of their actions in 1945. I am quite sure that they were deeply impressed by the fighting spirit of the freedom fighters and by the undoubtedly uniform stand of the entire Hungarian population. To mention one instance in which I personally saw Russian army units - small as they were - join the Hungarian freedom fighters, I am referring to one of the events in which I gave account already in the first few chapters of my interview, but we also received entirely reliable news that this experience of mine own was by no means an isolated instance but that there were several instances of the same nature. These reports came to the revolutionary council of intellectuals in which I was actively working. The reports came in from various fighting units ~~for~~ of the freedom

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fighters both in Budapest and in the country, particularly in the country. It appeared to me that there was such an instance in Miskolc but I may not remember well enough to cite this example."

When respondent is asked whether there were many deserters in the Russian army, he answered:

"I personally did not deal with this question, but I can still recall very vividly that I received official reports of negotiations going on between various Hungarian groups during the revolution which wanted to give a special standard to the deserters of the Soviet army because they received a report of an ~~enormous~~ considerable high number of such. The final decision was that we had to give them ~~some~~ asylum in Hungary and grant them all rights which are to be given to a political exile. One barracks was evacuated to house these deserters, and it was decided that these Russian soldiers should wear insignia distinctively marking them as belonging to the side of the revolution."

To a probe whether these Russian soldiers were expected to fight on the side of the revolution, respondent answers: "No, definitely not." To another probe question as to whether they were regarded as POW's, he answers the same definite no.

Another probe into whether Russian soldiers fought on the side of the Hungarians and whether respondent has any personal and reliable knowledge of such cases, respondent answers that he was so busy with other cases that he heard only reports on which he was not able to check, but he adds that he has no doubts that there were such cases, even though very short-lived.

Asked about cases of individual brutality by Soviet soldiers toward Hungarians during the revolution, respondent says there were several such cases of which he knows personally. "Take for instance, the case of the many Hungarian wounded who were in a building near the Ministry of Defense. The people living in that house called up the ambulance several times to go to help those ~~wounded~~ wounded. When the ambulance arrived, the Russian soldiers cold bloodedly shot the physician as well as the assistants who were with him, and all other people who hurried to these wounded to help them were shot in cold blood by the Russian soldiers who were on the other side of the street.

G. Competence of leaders.

Asked whether the top people are clever and intelligent quite apart from their purposes and motives, respondent explains:

"Colonel Matyas, national Commander of the AVH was relieved and his dismissal was nothing but a purge. I don't know who is now in his place. If the pre-revolutionary AVH was reorganized with the same ~~large~~ degree of efficiency, one may say that their efficiency is tops..efficient, of course, from their own point of view - that is to say, capable of carrying out those designs that the communists want them to accomplish. AVH men are trained through a number of special courses which are painstakingly elaborate."

A probe how come respondent knows this so well is answered by him in the following words:

"The number of years, I spent in prison and in concentration camps gave me opportunity to learn about several AVH men in our jail or concentration camps rather, that they left for a special course. When these AVH men returned, after about six to twelve months, they received higher ranks and we were able to observe that they learned new tricks and new approaches to find out what they were after. It was apparent that these tricks were learned during these courses, because they didn't apply them before."

Another probe as to what those certain tricks were aimed at is answered in the following words:

"Those tricks were mainly aimed at ~~persuading~~ ^{placing} informers in our midst in a way we did not discover them - take for instance, the trick that up to a certain period of time whenever they wanted to transform a prisoner into an informer, they called him alone to the headquarters and after one of those training courses they called always six or seven so that people did not know who was called for the sole reason of persuading him to become a dirty rat of an informer."

Respondent comes again to the original question by stating that he presumes there were several other courses of various and different natures, and therefore AVH people because they were surprising effective and resourceful in their fight against the revolution.

Respondent has this to say about the cleverness and intelligence about Army leadership:

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"I think the efficiency of army leadership is far below that of the secret police. The efficiency of the well-trained leadership was sacrificed to the political reliability of the new."

Here is respondent's opinion of Russian Army leadership:

"I think high army leadership of the Soviets is quite competent and efficient. Let me quote the following examples to illustrate my stand. I had a chance to experience first hand the tactics of the deployment of the Russian army after November the 4th. ~~THESE STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS BEHIND THOSE~~ ~~PLANS APPEARED TO BE VERY WELL CONCEIVED AND ALL THE DESIGNS APPEARED~~ ~~TO HAVE BEEN PLANNED MUCH EARLIER THAN THEY WERE ACTUALLY CARRIED OUT~~ ~~AFTER NOV. THE 4TH. TAKE FOR INSTANCE THAT THE RUSSIAN TROOPS MARCHED~~ ~~IN A WAY THAT THEY BROKE THE CONNECTION LINES BETWEEN HUNGARIAN TROOPS~~ ~~AND THEIR HEADQUARTERS, OR HUNGARIAN TROOPS AND THEIR SUPPORTING PARTS~~ ~~WHICH WERE TO TAKE CARE OF THEIR LOGISTIC NEEDS. NO DOUBT THE DEPLOYMENT~~ ~~OF THE RUSSIAN TROOPS CAN BE TERMED A PERFECT MANOEUVRE."~~ These strategic considerations behind those plans appeared to be very well conceived and all the designs appeared to have been planned much earlier than they were actually carried out after Nov. the 4th. Take for instance that the Russian troops marched in a way that they broke the connection lines between Hungarian troops and their headquarters, or Hungarian troops and their supporting parts which were to take care of their logistic needs. No doubt the deployment of the Russian troops can be termed a perfect manoeuvre."

Next question refers to the efficiency of public administration officials, and respondent has this to say:

"The lower echelons of public administration officials is utterly poor. Most of the people appointed by the Communist Civic Councils were picked on the basis of political reliability rather than their actual efficiency. Even if we come to speak of officials employed in the various ministries we may clearly see that the main principle of selection was the political consideration. But as long as MUNNICH was the Minister of Interior, he handled affairs in a very intelligent and quite efficient way. He is unquestionably the best trained member of the Hungarian government of today."

When respondent is asked whether he would care to comment on any other groups in the leadership of the country, he comes up with this reply:

"The leadership of the Communist Party today is not quite uniform. I think the most interesting fact is that there is a number of high party officials who are playing a role in the eyes of the public and their names are very often mentioned, but they are actually quite unimportant. These people are contrasted by a number of others whose names are completely unknown and who are the actual wheels behind the wheels we can see. One of these is a certainly Lajos Fehér. This man began his career in 1945. First he functioned in the peasant party, and later he joined the Communist party, and became editor of the Szabad Föld. He always belonged to a clique opposing Rakosi. Another

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similar personality is Miklós Somogyi. For sometime he was one of the top leaders of the unions and then he was pushed aside for quite some time. He was known as one of the most decent fellows among the Communists. If later a process of liberalization may start within the Communist Party, any change for the better may be expected from these people and from others grouped around them. Since Stalinism is once more in the saddle in Hungary, it may be quite some time until these people can start a new development within the Party. "

Considering how important such people may become in a new development this interviewer deems it necessary to ask respondent whether he would suggest that the aforementioned names be not used, and that even the description given be not used either in any publication. Respondent said that the interviewer is very right and that he requests very pointedly that neither the names nor the descriptions of these people be used in any publication.

ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

1. The next few years:

Respondent answers the question as to what he guesses will happen in the next few years, and what his hopes are by saying:

"The only avenue for Hungary to become free in the present or future is the to be agreed upon by the great powers and preferably by the United Nations. Hungary's situation cannot be dealt with independently of other so-called satellites. Liberation by military power appears unrealistic because the USA will never launch a war, all the more so, because it is justifiably afraid that such would result in a World War. But these subjugated countries can be bought from the Soviet Union - one of the prizes, for instance, might be the withdrawal of NATO troops to a distance equal to one to which the Soviet Union withdraws its troops. For the nations of the free world, this would be disadvantageous because actually a strong Communist area would come to life in this territory; the neutrality of which would be but nominal. It is my firm conviction that the most persuaded Communist masses are to be found in these countries, more than anywhere else in the world, perhaps, because of their first hand experiences with the actual workings of the Communist system, and because of the occupation by the Soviet Union."

These are respondent's estimates as to what probably will happen:

"Communists have profited from their bitter experiences and arrive at the conclusion that there is no other way to carry out Communism policies but complete terror. This is their approach to the unrestricted terror."

"The West won't stir in connection with the Hungarian situation and the East Europe situation in general. My only real hope is the Eden Plan will not easily reach a stage where it could be a point of agreement, because of the dissenting opinions of the countries of the free world."

"Russia will probably keep its self in Hungary by changing nothing else but its appearance."

Respondent thinks that his hopes of establishing a neutral zone in which Hungary could become free could be realized by negotiations.

When he is asked about the views of the people in Hungary, he comes up with this picture:

"At present, when most of the population of Hungary are personally involved in the consequences of the Revolution by having relatives or very close friends either lost in the revolution - dead, wounded, or prisoners, or as a ~~xxxxxx~~ deportee to Russia, or one became a refugee, the Hungarians would like to rid themselves of the present terrible situation, regardless how and at what cost."

When respondent is asked about his ideas of a war between the USSR and US, he says he doesn't think there would be a war in the near future, however, in the final end, he thinks war will be unavoidable.

War could be avoided, respondent thinks, only if the Soviet Union would be dissolved from within or if the US goes Communist. Respondent is afraid that with the present policies of the West and of the free world in general, the inner solution of the Soviet Union is not likely at all, and, of course, he says, he knows very well that the U.S. will never go Communist.

B. Hopes in retrospect:

When respondent is asked what he thought of the future, and what he hoped for before the revolution and in the last ten years, he has this to say: "In ~~1945~~ 1945 and '46, I thought that on the basis of the new agreement that free elections could be held in Hungary and that the Parliament created by these elections would produce a government which would build up a democratic Hungary, by electing a republican constitution, and carrying out a sweeping land reform, by guaranteeing the basic freedoms. One hope of liberal democratic development was the Potsdam agreement, in which the Western allies demanded part in the Allied Control Commission, and the Soviet Union agreed to that participation. What happened in reality, however, was that the West allies were not able to carry their points in the Control Commission, and we saw that the functioning amounted not much more than a mere backing of the Soviet policies of those Control Commissions. In 1946, - at the end of '46 - it became apparent that the Communists took over more and more of key positions in the nation's life. The turning point was the state visit of Ferenc Nagy in the United States. This Hungarian Premier presented a picture of the Hungarian situation to President Truman, and he asked President Truman for a more efficient support for the advancement for the democratic development of Hungary. Upon his return, Ferenc Nagy confided the answer of President Truman to the circle of his friends. He told them that Truman's answer was that the USA and the free countries could not afford to give more help than so far, and that Hungary had to fight it out with the aggrandizement and colonization policies of the Soviet Union.

As a matter of course, this fight against one of the great military powers of the world could not possibly be effective. The Soviet Union applied openly brute force in Hungary - in Hungarian domestic public life. Bela Kovacs, ~~general secretary of the Small-holder's Party~~ general secretary of the Small-holder's Party and one of the, or perhaps the foremost leader of the anti-communist line within the Party was kidnapped at Soviet orders, and when the Soviet Union saw that the conscience of the free world wouldn't stir at this overt act they started a whole series of similar actions - the Communist carried them out partly themselves and partly through the Hungarian ~~agents~~ agents. The series of these actions of terror were called the famous Salami technique. This technique was to symbolize cutting up a salami by small slices - cutting up the non-communist democratic parties, piece by piece, little by little.

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The Communists emphasised again and again that there are democrats and reactionaries, and that the reactionaries had to be liquidated, or done away with in some fashion. When the so-called reactionary ~~were~~ eliminated one by one, the Communists were saying that among the remaining democratic elements, there are good and bad, and the bad ones have to be smashed. When those designated as bad, democratic elements were smashed, and the Communists again yelled: "Everybody murder!" by putting their finger on the remaining good democrats, and said that they were hard and soft democrats among them, and that the soft democrats had no place in political life. This is how it went on and on. The principle of "divide and conquer" ~~was~~ was realized to its last details .

"From 1947 on, I realized that I had to abandon hope. The Hungarian didn't fail us and didn't fail democracy, but the West and the free world in general failed to fulfill any of its promises, held out in wartime agreements. I thought that we were abandoned and I abandoned hope. I saw that the Communist party took part in directing the nation's life, and shaping its destiny with much more ~~force~~ force than its role ought to have been proportionate to the number of votes ~~allotted~~ allotted the Communists in the last general elections.

"The Communist Party points to 1948 as the phase in which the struggle for power was ~~concluded~~ concluded victoriously and came to an end. I was in prison in 1948. In prison, my friends and I hoped - the result of the peculiar psychology of prisons - that the free world would soon be fed up by the imperialist aggrandizement policies of the Soviet Union, as well as with its horrible system of oppression, by which it deprived its victims from every remainder of basic human rights. This situation was made even more tragic by the fact, that the victims of this oppression were citizens of countries belonging to the European culture - in brief, nations ~~wer~~ completely deprived of their right to self-determination, and their citizens were completely deprived of any human rights. We believed in the solidarity of the European people, so we thought that there would be more than just speeches in favor of the realization of the sublime goal of a United Europe. We hoped that all ~~mean~~ would be available to the free nations to ~~use~~ utilize for preventing the aggressors and oppressors from treating nations longing to be a European Community as if they were in the dark ages.

"In the course of the deliberation process which was launched by Imre Nagy, in 1953, and which came to life after some severe setbacks, ~~agreements~~ ~~20th Party Congress~~ ~~very slowly~~ , very slowly after Stalin's death, and really after the 20th Party Congress, it seemed to us that perhaps Hungary would have a chance to follow a more ~~independent~~ independent course.

The following are the reactions of respondent to a Poland type solution:

"Gomulka-ism is kept in existence by the consent of Cardinal Mindszenty and it's a form of national Communism which takes the greatest possible advantage of possibilities left open by Communism, and utilizes every available means to realize democracy within the confines that are left within the framework of Communism. My opinion is that this phase can be only a step toward the form of genuine freedom but it can by no means be anything near a solution. It is my conviction that Gomulka-ism won at the elections because there was a wish in the public opinion of the free world for a victory of Gomulka-ism. This is because the Polish people rejected this regime and wish more and more freedom for themselves, sooner or later similar events will take place in Poland as did in October last year in Hungary. And then the Polish people will be abandoned to the tender mercy of one of the two great military parties of the world, just as the Hungarian heroes of the revolution. Leaders of the free world, press and radio of the free world, certainly wished that no violence erupt in Poland, and the Polish people knew this. So they reconciled themselves to the second best solution, or rather not solution, but approach. The Polish people were able to assess the situation after the outcome of the Hungarian revolution. At the light of that revolution, they saw what be if they rose only against their oppressors. Cardinal Mindszenty and his associates saw the same and this is why they took a stand against violent revolution. The tragic history of the Warsaw uprising of 1944 certainly was one of the factors that persuaded the Polish people to use moderation. I am completely sure that this national form of Communism is not ~~not~~ approved by the Polish people, but it seems to them better and more humane than Stalinism or Khrushchevism."

When respondent is asked how he thinks the solution he advocated - that is, a military zone - could be realized, he answers:

"The Soviet Union seemed to be ready to start negotiations about the plan concerning a neutral zone but it was the Western powers (for reasons unknown to me) rejected the overtures of the Soviet leaders."

"According to ~~the~~ news received from Hungary, from reliable sources, Bulganin's proposal was met with panic in Communist circles of Hungary, and Communist functionaries didn't feel at ease, but showed alarm."

The same would have been true in the other satellites as well. This is one of those signs which persuade me to disapprove of the reluctance on part of the Western powers to enter negotiations about the implementation of the Eden plan. The fact itself that negotiations are conducted in this matter - (even though nothing would come out of them) - could have shaken the situation behind the iron curtain to its foundations."

When respondent's opinion is asked about internal changes within the Soviet Union leading to a settlement in Eastern Europe, he comes up with this answer:

"Even this present Soviet government can withdraw its troops from Hungary - that is to say, permit the liberation of Hungary without losing face, if we offer them something in Hungary's place. I am referring at this point again, to the Eden Plan. But if we expect changes within the Soviet Union, I am afraid we dream of such easy made-to-order solutions out of convenience, and wishful thinking - just like the German leaders who, during the second World War, had a theory that it would be enough to march into Russia or at the most, to launch a military attack against Russia and the revolution would break out. I am afraid that the many factors which all contributed to the revolution in Hungary are not factors of any importance in Soviet Russia."

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. When respondent is requested to express his views as to what an independent Hungary should be like, economically, he answers that this is too great a question, and he would prefer that we break up the question into smaller parts; otherwise, he would suggest that he hold a lengthy lecture on the topic.

At the question if respondent would put the emphasis in an independent Hungary on agriculture, or building up its light or heavy industries, he answers that light industry should be foremost in our plans, beside agriculture. Of the light industries those which have a close connection with agriculture should be emphasized, such as food industries, and farm machinery industries. Respondent also suggests that such industry which have been developed well enough should be further developed such as precision instruments of optics and others in which the Hungarian industry has been tons. Respondent suggests that if the news they received during the revolution about the uranium mines in South Hungary, which are supposedly second only to the Belgium Congo, but even if they are only of moderate size, uranium should be developed and put to the best possible use.

Speaking again of agriculture, respondent suggests that fruit-growing and vegetable-growing should be foremost in the plans suggested for the future farmers of Hungary.

Respondent thinks the following of what should be done with the national enterprises if Hungary should become free: "The new government of any independent Hungary should issue an order stating that the status quo of the moment must be recognized to prevent anarchy and the order should contain a statement that all the industrial leaders who are in charge of any equipment or operation of factory mechanisms would be held responsible for the maintenance of the equipment and finding solutions to safeguard the operation, or the lack of operation, in which they are in charge. As soon as feasible, the Hungarian Parliament, freely elected, should convene and decide about the national enterprises. I personally would suggest, and do everything possible to persuade people, that the national enterprises be handed over to the workers of those certain plants so as to become the property of the workers and the worker's councils to be formed - similar to those formed during the revolution - should be in charge.

This should go hand in hand with the development of the concept of "Social property". By social property I mean conditions of labor and management of a certain plant.

"Private people should also be given freedom to establish industries, and foreign capital should be invited to Hungary. Of course, under conditions not hurting the country's self-determination."

Respondent thinks the following relative to the kolkhozes and state farms:

"Collective farms would be automatically dissolved by the population in case of basic changes. The fundamental principle of re-arrangement should be the land reform of 1945, but arrangements should be adjusted to local conditions, since small farms should be the basis of the agricultural system - small farms which can keep a family busy and give it bread and butter. The principle toward the proprietors of the period of time before 1945 should be the consideration that the right of usage is stronger than the right of property. Certain state farms should be kept in the hands of the state to function as model farms with the help of which the level of agricultural know-how should be raised as high as the latest results indicated in the United States."

Asked about the nationalization of industry and of the transportation systems, etc. respondent has this to say:

"The media of transportation should be in part property of the state (nation-wide) and in part of cities and towns (if of local importance). Smaller ~~enterprises~~ enterprises functioning as cooperatives are admissible and desirable." Respondent thinks that most of Hungary's population think along similar lines. Respondent's general attitude to government ownership of mines, and other natural resources like oil wells, and in case of mines - particularly ore mines and coal mines - is the following: these should also become communal property as explained in a forward paragraph when respondent first started talking about national enterprises. Light industry should be private property and only large, nation-wide ~~concerns~~ concerns of light industry should become communal property.

When asked what role government should play in agriculture, respondent suggests that main concern should be agricultural education... education in every field plus agricultural education. In its model farms, which would be important in this education, it should use the most modern methods as adjusted and applied to conditions in Hungary. It should be a primary concern of the agricultural dept. to breed better races of animals, to protect forest, and to regulate fishing and hunting, and above all to

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develop new and better crops and other agricultural products by wide-spread experimentations.

The respondent thinks that the government shouldn't set a maximum limit to the amount of land any one person or family may own after the new arrangement. He thinks progressive ~~income~~ taxation on the profit which is taken out of the enterprise should take care of not letting people establish sweat-shops and take the profit out of the working capital.

When respondent is told about the two kinds of government which are described in point 2 of Chapter XIV, under capital B, respondent says that this question is so obvious to answer that it is almost an insult to ask respondent such a question.

Respondent would by no means outlaw the Communist Party. He thinks in a democracy all parties, crazy as they may be, should have the right to state what they want to. If one wishes to be a Communist, he thinks he should have a freedom to do so. In a free Hungary, respondent estimates, there wouldn't be more than at the very most, 4 or 5 % Communist Party votes, and he thinks that this is a very conservative estimate, and one which is very unanimous toward the Communist Party.

G. International Position:

Speaking of the position, respondent would want Hungary to have ideally among other nations, he answered "It is a United States of Europe". ~~When~~ When detailed questions are asked, respondent answers that the United States of Europe would be the final and completely conclusive answer to all questions of detail, and respondent finally says that if a United States of Europe cannot be realized then at least a smaller confederation of states should be brought about, but that confederation should be as large as possible.

Respondent with an enthusiastic "yes" when he is asked whether he ever thought of some sort of federation of European states. Respondent was only 16 years old when he first heard of the idea. He learned about it from a book by Oscar Jaszi and the title of the book was in Hungarian "A Konfederacios Eszme Tortenete" which translated into English would sound something like "History of the Idea of Confederation." He found this book in the High School Library of the school in which he was studying.

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Respondent thinks that the idea is very good. He thinks it is desirable and possible to establish a confederation of states, but he thinks the larger the unit the better. If he ought to come up with a suggestion of his own and limiting the number of the states respondent would include the following: Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia Austria, Poland and the Ukraines. Respondent thinks that the general feeling about this in Hungary is that they want first to get free and then only decided about such matters, but he ventures to guess by saying that he thinks people in Hungary on the whole would favor a United States of Europe solution.

Respondent finds the boundaries of Hungary not acceptable if thinking of an ideal situation and an ideal solution. When he is asked whether he wants to see any territorial adjustment he says that people in Hungary and in surrounding countries should freely decided where they want to belong and respondent thinks that all people, all sensible people anyway in Hungary think exactly the same. In other words, respondent favors a plebiscite which should decided about the boundaries if there are such to be at all.

Respondent says that he is very much concerned over the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary. He thinks basic human rights together with the other citizens of those states should be secured to them. They should have the right to use their own language in official places, too, and they should have Hungarian schools, and even colleges where necessary. Their cultural values should be left in tact like dances and songs and their press and their customs. Respondent says that all of these questions are quite essential to him.

EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia.

Asked whether respondent thinks there are changes possible within the Soviet Union - gradual or otherwise - he answers in the following words:
" Since the death of Stalin, a process got started in Soviet Russia which process meant some degree of liberalization. We have received reliable reports about open debates of the Hungarian events at the Moscow University in the course of which students bombarded professors with exceedingly embarrassing questions, but even though events move in that direction, it cannot be expected that a basic change will be effected by some liberalization that has taken place so far. I don't believe that a revolution could come soon either because of the efficiency of the apparatus of power within Soviet Russia. I think mainly of the NKVD, MVD and all the other police organs and the army itself. Since all of these are in the hands of the party, I think it is well nigh impossible to make any serious move which is contrary to the will of these organs and particularly the party leadership which disposes with them. I think basic changes in Soviet Russia can be effected only by external events which would shake the Soviet Union."

This is respondent's guess about what other people in Hungary think of the same question:

"There are certain Hungarian beliefs according to which they gradual liberation process will change the face of the Soviet Union, and there are others according to which a sudden and profound eruption of revolutionary forces will disrupt what we know as the Soviet Union. I, however, cannot share ~~any~~ either of these two views."

Asked what he thinks the Russian people hold of the Communist government, respondent answers:

"The people/s of the Soviet Union reject the Communist government and the Communist system just as well as the nations of the so-called satellites do. This is especially true about areas which are so-called nationality areas. I think first of all of the Ukraine."

Asked for his guesses what the result would be of free elections in Soviet Russia, respondent offers the following:

"Of course, it is embarrassingly hard to give an answer to such a question, but I think if a completely free election would be preceded by a completely free speech uttered everywhere, and completely free press distributed everywhere in Soviet Russia - if there would be a great many enlightening speeches and lectures and if the Parties could organize their membership as freely as in a Western democracy, I am

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persuaded that the Communist Party would receive only a ~~small~~ minority of the votes."

The following is the opinion of respondent of what the top leaders of Russia are like:

"It is theoretically conceivable that the top leaders of the Soviet Union want ultimately something good, however, even if this be so (which is quite debatable) ~~then~~ their actions are characterized by a ruthless imperialism and colonialism and by a state of their internal affairs which is certainly not in favor of the Soviet peoples. While concentrating themselves coldly to designs ~~and~~ made for a glorious tomorrow, the top leaders of the Soviet Union completely neglect the tasks of today, and they lose sight completely of the essence of every leadership in the world which is to serve according to the wishes of the population -serving instead of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other countries upon which they have established the rule, they serve a system of dogmas, of a coldlyideology."

Asked about the difference between the Russian leaders and the Hungarian Communist leadership, respondent answers:

"Although both of them are moving on the common ground of Communist ideology, and although both them are dedicated to the same concept which has been outlined by the Soviet leaders, still the Hungarian leaders must be influenced by the special Hungarian circumstances, and the atmosphere in which they grew up. Several of them, including Kadar, have first had experience of the jail system and the torture system of the Hungarian AVH. It is impossible to leave their experiences out of account when we assess them. Besides, there is a tremendous pressure coming from the Hungarian millions which willingly they must sooner or later recognize and respect."

A probing question whether respondent thinks that such pressure has been recognized and respected so far by the Hungarian Communist leadership, he answers:

"So far they have left it out of account. This however does not mean that they can afford in a long run to completely disregard it."

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C. Poland:

When respondent is asked what he thinks of the Poland situation, he refers to his having made a statement on this question in chapter XIII, Sub chapter capital A, point 3. when his views on a Poland type solution were asked. Upon interviewer insistence, he offers the following opinion:

"The population of Poland, ~~except~~ accepts the Gomulka government because it has no other choice. The people of Poland see no other solution possible, mainly because they realize that the West is all for a Gomulka solution and that the West favors Gomulka in the seat of the Prime Minister. Another fact which keeps Gomulka in power, I think, is the fact that he has reached an agreement with the Polish Catholic Church and particularly with Cardinal ~~Wyszynski~~ Wyszynski."

When respondent is asked if the Polish developments had any ~~influence~~ effect on Hungary before Oct. 26th, he comes up with this answer:

"The effect of the Polish events was tremendous. The liberalization process going on in Poland infiltrated the Hungarian scene. Even the Hungarian revolution actually started on Oct. 23rd with a demonstration in favor of Gomulka. The leadership of the newly organized independent democratic Hungarian movement decided that they ~~will~~ hold a demonstration expressing their sympathy for Gomulka's speech which he held at the 8th Congress of the Polish Communist Party. This speech was very liberal and it was very much to the liking of the Hungarians. Polish events had an effect upon Hungarian developments both during and after the revolution, but I am convinced that the Hungarian developments influenced the Polish events ~~xxxxxxxx~~ to a very great extent. The Polish developments were particularly influenced by the realization of what would happen to them if they went farther than the line drawn up by Gomulka. They realized what an endless tragedy would be their lot if they wanted to have a completely independent and free country as the Hungarians wanted. Polish people learned from the Hungarian events that an even worse Soviet Russian occupation would follow if they revolted because the West did not feel in a position to come to their aid, and they saw alone that they could not stand up against the mighty military power of the Soviet Union."

Asked whether there were any changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power, respondent says:

"Before Gomulka would have ceased power, centralisation was very strong and oppression was very harsh in Poland. There was a development particularly with students and writers, but there was a tremendous cleavage between leadership and the people, and it was this cleavage which Gomulka tried to bridge, or at least to make smaller. Gomulka's person seems to enjoy

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some measure of confidence of the Polish people. Probably he has a role in Poland as Imry Nagy had in Hungary."

This is respondents knowledge of the Polish "thaw" before the Poznan riots:

"There was very little, if anything, spoken of an easing of the situation before the Poznan riots. The Poznan riots placed a tremendous role in exciting Hungarian imagination and sentiments."

Asked whether he would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines, respondent answers:

"While the Hungarian revolution was on, I certainly would not have preferred it to take a path along Polish lines. Events that started in the Hungarian revolution were followed by other events in a logical manner and it was a natural development toward a pure democracy in the Western sense of the word, but now after the revolution - months after the revolution - in retrospect I might say that I would prefer that the Hungarian situation would have developed along the Polish lines because a realistic appraisal of the sum total of the factors would warrant a gradual liberalization. There is no solution thinkable that could be worse than the government of Kadar with its ruthless-anti-people, policies and practices."

D. Yugoslavia:

Asked about the influence of Tito and Yugoslavia in Eastern Europe, respondent says:

"Tito's Yugoslavia wields a tremendous, almost unbelievable, influence upon the events in Eastern Europe. Statements of Tito - even statements which only in part accept the view of Moscow and which in part ~~criticize~~ criticize and refuses to accept the stand of Moscow -- wields a much greater influence upon events in Eastern Europe than statements made by leaders of the United States of America. Tito unquestionably plays an important historical role. Tito's speech delivered in Karlovaci in which he criticized that the de-Stalinization process did not get under way in Hungary - that the Stalinist leaders were still in their former positions - well, this speech to ~~revert~~ revert to some time in June, I think, had an effect of an exploding bomb in Hungary and Communist leaders felt put on a spot. The difference is this: if the US or any other free country criticizes ~~anything~~ anything that goes on behind the iron curtain, top leaders of the Communist Empire consider such statements as kind of compliments; however, if something of that sort comes from Tito, it is not dismissed as a compliment but is seriously regarded as a grave criticism, because the Kremlin is anxious to keep up good diplomatic relations with Tito."

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This is respondent's attitude toward Tito-ism and national Communism in general:

"In the final analysis, national communism is still communism which takes into account a number of national characteristics in that certain country, but it is still communism oppressing people and completely detached from the actual representation of the will of the people. A national communism however, sinister and oppressive as it is, is still to be preferred to the completely Moscow dictated extension of the power of ~~imperialist~~ Soviet Russia. National Communism grants some, a very moderate degree, of developing an independence. A Moscow dictated communism does not give any leeway. If there is any choice between national Communism and almost any form of free governmental system, naturally national Communism has to be rejected, but one can choose only between Moscow dictated communism and national communism, the latter has to be preferred beyond the shadow of a doubt."

Asked what the relations of Tito are with other East European nations, respondent answers:

"I don't think we can learn the genuine facts. The question depends, to a very great extent upon the relation between Belgrade and Moscow."

The following are respondents views on Tito's popularity:

"The population of Yugoslavia rejects Tito just as well as the population of Soviet Union rejects the Communist leadership. But at the same time, there are signs that people have some respect for the shrewd, international play of Tito, but all those who took a trip to Yugoslavia lately and saw the economic situation of that country which is still very far from being stable, in spite of the large amount of relief Yugoslavia is getting from the free world and particularly from the United States, and who saw the serious degree of political oppression, did not come back from Yugoslavia with favorable comments."

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E. Middle East:

Here are respondents' views on the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt:

"The Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was one of those events which had disastrous consequences for the Hungarian revolution. The Anglo-French invasion in the area of the Suez Canal took unfair advantage of the Hungarian revolution. Jean Paul Sartre made it very clear in one of his articles that the Anglo-French military leadership planned this invasion at a much later date, but that the Anglo-French military leadership meant to fish in tropic waters and was anxious to take advantage of the situation created by the Hungarian revolution. The fact of the Suez intervention itself, and even more, the fact that the West Allies - France and England - did not heed the warnings of the UN and did not carry out their resolutions encouraged, and in fact, ~~was~~ kind of entitled the Soviet Union to carry out the same intervention ~~in~~ in Hungary, and not to obey the resolutions of the UN. This intervention was an act of aggression and was sinful and deplorable by itself, but particularly the fact that they chose such a time as to take advantage of the Hungarian revolution was a ~~shameless~~ shameless misdeed."

The following are respondent's views of the Israeli invasion:

"The entire Anglo-French invasion could be ~~itself~~ compared to a chess game, and in such a chess game, the Israeli invasion was only one step which was to lead to a combination of further steps with the ultimate aim, the Anglo-French military leadership designed."

Asked whether Egypt had a right to nationalize the canal, respondent responds:

"The nationalization of the Suez Canal is very complex question. After a country has fulfilled all of its obligations as described in treaties; after it has satisfied all the demands, can have as compensation for all of what such a company did in investment and maintenance, a country has the right to appropriate and to nationalize an enterprise if it pays for it in the appropriate way. Egypt certainly would have had the right to nationalize the Suez Canal had it waited until the date when the contract between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian government foresaw the termination of the contract. On the termination date, Egypt would have received the stocks held by the Suez Canal company automatically anyway; hence, I may say that the Egyptian government had no right to nationalize the Suez canal under these circumstances, and at this date. Still the

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retaliation conceived by the French and the English government should not have had the form of an aggression and an occupation. There were other means available to the parties interested."

F. West Germany:

This is what respondent thinks of whether or not the Germans are dangerous and may start another war:
not

"I have never heard about such views in the recent years. My personal experiences persuade me that Germany is completely demilitarized and doesn't feel like it will become ~~militarily~~ militarily inclined and interested again. People utterly dislike soldiering, and the economic prosperity of the German people is mainly due to the fact that they do not have to bear the tremendous costs of armament. Setting up a West German army would be in the interests of the tranquility and order of the European countries." Respondent dismisses the question about West German military strength with the assertion that there is none, worth speaking of, in existence. Hence comparing it with the British or the French military strength would be utterly impractical. According to respondent's knowledge the recruitment of German youth is still on a voluntary basis, and there is no compulsory duty.

Comparing the German occupation of Hungary with that of the Russians, respondent volunteers this view:

"German occupation in Hungary was pretty short as compared with the Russian occupation. After all it was started only on March 19, 1944 and lasted until the Russian troops pushed the German troops out of Hungary. During the German occupation, there were trends possible within the country - trends which were aimed at restoring Hungary's freedom and independence. There were even retrogressive tendencies possible in German occupied Hungary. On March 19, 1944, a right-wing pro-Nazi Imredist government was installed with Sztocjay at the head of the government. Imredi was in that government the so-called top economic minister and his

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party members dominated the government. This German favored government was ~~later~~ later relieved by the Lakatos government, which government could be described as considerably liberal - liberal particularly as compared to other governments in those years in Hungary, as well as in other German occupied or German influenced countries. So you can see that the German occupation still tolerated, willy-nilly, such attempts at establishing a liberal government in Hungary. Under the Soviet occupation of Hungary, in the first few months, and even years, there was some democratic progress possible - particular in the first year - but democracy - the democratic institutions - built up by the Hungarian people were done away with in a systematic manner by the forces as directed from the Communist Party headquarters and ultimately from Moscow. No serious deviations from the political concept of the masters of the Soviet Union was possible. Concerning the two occupations we may arrive at the conclusion that the German intervention and the German occupation policies and practices were not as merciless and rude as their Russian counterparts."

Respondent thinks that the German Army was incomparably more disciplined than the Russian army because individual misdeeds on the part of the German occupation soldiers were rare, and individual encroachments upon the rights of individuals were very rare, whereas in case of the Soviet occupation army, such things were every-day matters."

This is what respondent can and cares to say about NATO:

"The number of NATO troops which are presently in Europe and able to stand up in defense of Europe is utterly small. If compared with nothing else but the occupation Army deployed in Poland by the Soviets where they maintain 40 Soviet divisions which is not much more than zero. Consequently if the Soviet Union would agree to the establishment of de-militarized neutral zones within its own domain, that is to say, if it would agree to withdraw its occupation forces from the Satellite countries, and demand in return that the NATO forces be dissolved, I think this would be a very favorable bargain for the Free World. It seems to me, the bargain would involve giving up something that is not more than nothing, to say the NATO (more accurately speaking the units of NATO supplied by the European countries) and the free world would gain at the same time, all countries occupied by the Soviet Union which holds these countries in its very firm grip, and which maintains an immense occupation machinery in those countries."

This is what respondent says when asked about the British Labor Party:

First of all I mean to emphasize that learning from and almost imitating the ideology -the political concept- of the British Labor Party would be the real task of all Labor Parties in other European countries. I wish

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that the ideological ferment that has taken place within the Labor Party would come to particularly the so-called social democratic parties of the central and east European countries, and I wish that this ferment would transform the ideological concept of these parties. The leaders of the British Labor Party clearly see that the practical tasks given on the prevailing conditions, the economic policies which seem to be reasonable to become the program of a ~~new~~ party and a government, should have precedence over ideological, theoretical considerations. If my information is correct, it seems that leaders of the British Labor Party are ready to give up their nationalization programs. If they realize that their ultimate goal, that is to say, the welfare of the workers can be realized by other means, better and safer, I have great appreciation for them because I see that they realize that the goal is the welfare of the workers and not the means to achieving the welfare of the workers. This is a welcome enlightenment which would be very necessary in the social-democratic parties of the Eastern European countries which are still under too strong a Marxist influence. I found the government policies of the British Labor Party positive and constructive, and I find it conceivable that the British Labor Party would again receive the majority votes of the British constituents at a future election and thus alternate in the way a two-party system is effectively working."

This is how respondent ranks the countries enumerated in the questionnaire according to the standard of living, He thinks they have:
"West Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Soviet Russia and Egypt."

H. The United States:

Here are the things that surprised respondent particularly, about America during his first few months here:

"The fact that America really has managed to become a melting pot for people of different nationalities, creeds and origins; that America has been able to bring all of these many different people to realize that they have common denominators, and that it has been able to develop a common concept which is cherished by all. Another practical surprise follows quite clearly from the recognition I just spoke about. Namely, the fact that while in Europe if one doesn't speak the language of a country well enough and if he is not a dyed-in-the-wool German, Pole, or Hungarian or whatever, he usually not thought of very favorably and people feel some reluctance to give him equal voice in determining any policies or playing any important role in public affairs. Here in the United States

if one speaks the english language only poorly, but if he has something to offer, he is very favorably received by Americans, and he is admitted to their midst and his contributions are welcome. I think the psychological angle of this comparison is the most important one, yet it is something that cannot be overlooked. Another observation of mine - in America I was surprised at the degree of prosperity and individual welfare of most of the Americans which surpassed even my imagination. The basic feeling of an individual that he can buy almost anything that is really needed by him from his wages, is a feeling that is completely unknown to the average Hungarian, or the citizen of any eastern European country, for that matter. Such a feeling is unknown to even a great many Western Europeans. I found another pleasant surprise in the fact that the apparatus of bureaucracy is so simple that it cannot easily be ~~be compared~~ compared to that European Eastern countries have. Take just one small example in my own personal case. I was questioned only once by the emigration authorities in this country, and that questioning was carried out ~~by~~ in form of a telephone conversation. I was greatly impressed by the fact that there is no obligation for a person to register whenever he changes residence."

At a probing question how come that even respondent with his exceptional background in intellectual development and information was surprised at there being no obligation to register when moving, respondent says that after all, he also comes from a country behind the iron curtain where the legal procedures necessary to move from one place to another were very burdensome and elaborate.

This is what respondent thinks the United States should do now for the people and nations of Eastern Europe:

"The United States has done an awful lot for the people of Hungary and for the peoples of other so-called Satellite countries. In various ways, among others by never renouncing their faith and hope in the eventual liberation of these countries; indirectly, the United States did very much for these countries by stopping the tide of Communism by its policies which installed the Marshall plan and saved Western European countries from doom. The Marshall Plan almost pulled the rock from under the Communists Parties in Western Europe. But I think that the European countries which were aided by the US on the economic front should receive now not only export of goods but also export of ideas and intellectual achievements. It is by no means enough to criticize

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and to reject Communism. That is but a negative approach. A positive ~~approach~~ political concept has to be given in place of Communism. A serious intellectual export has to take place from the US. This has been accomplished so far only with great mistakes and great omissions. The US has every necessary, and indeed the best possible means available, for carrying out a program of intellectual export. Its radio stations, its magazines and etc. all are available for doing what people of the US deem fit, but people, and particular leaders of the United States should be much more concerned with the individual characteristics of various countries, with the special circumstances prevailing in those countries, with the attitude of the population and with their needs and dreams and difficulties, etc. Great brains in the US should be at work to formulate an ideology which would catch the imagination of the peoples - particularly in the Subjugated countries. At the same time, they should be particularly interested in giving the right people from the countries in bondage - to those people who are in the free world as exiles - a chance to formulate such ideologies, and Americans and exiles should cooperate in such efforts. A well formulated, unified system of ideas and policies should be formulated. This should refer above all to an economic system. The US should make available media of communications to the exiles so that they could present their ideas and concepts to the people in bondage. Negating Communism is but a negative approach, and we also need a positive approach in giving something in its place."

This is what respondent thinks of the actual present policy of the US: "It is constantly wavering and subject to unexpected changes. We don't know what Secretary Dulles meant by the policy "of dynamic peace" This we don't know if he meant a return to the 1952 Dulles line of cold war, or whether he just meant another version of the policy of co-existence. The leaders of the US have not made clear yet what they mean by the policy of liberation. When they use this term again and again, leaders of America should make it clear what they mean by liberation. Latest statements made in connection with the visit of Chancellor Adenauer, statements referring to establishing a de-militarized, neutral zone in Germany and negotiations ~~aimed at realizing~~ aimed at realizing such plans could and should become a point of departure for developing similar policies for the other Soviet controlled countries of Eastern Europe. It is high time that such policies be formulated and be pronounced, and that such become a positive program of negotiations."

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Asked whether there have been any changes in respondent's attitude on what the US should do since he came to this country, he answers:

"Before I arrived in ~~Washington~~ the United States, I used to think that the US and its allies have commonly conceived and coordinated policies for the liberation of the subjugated countries. I thought that they clearly saw what they meant to achieve and that also saw an approach, or several approaches to realizing that goal. But my many talks with representatives of the US as well as of other countries of the free world have convinced me that I was looking in vain for such commonly formulated policies. Countries of the free world have political actions and political steps, and perhaps some sort of crusades, but these do not form part of a unified, comprehensive concept."

Asked whether the US should give aid to the present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, etc., respondent answers:

"The US should give aid, by all means to mainly Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia. I can support my suggestion with the following arguments. Turning against the oppression of the Soviet Union, serious degree of resistance and revolution are possible not in countries which are utterly poor and the population of which has to struggle for the daily bread with tremendous difficulties. They are, rather, possible in countries in which there is some degree of economic stability. Economic backwardness, or human poverty and misery are by themselves not enough to producing a serious degree of resistance. In such countries not much more happens but that people eat less and starve more and keep their mouths even tighter shut. For an intellectual ferment to get under way and to take shape, a certain degree of economic improvement is necessary. The aforementioned countries need such economic improvement very badly. Hungary is an open wound in the body of the Soviet Union at present; hence, economic aid given to Hungary is very necessary because it will not be aid given to the government as much it would achieve some economic help for the Hungarian people. But any economic aid given to Hungary should be with string attached - strings which bind the Hungarian government not to deliver any part of the aid to the Soviet Union, and the Hungarian government should be obliged to give a chance for observers of the free world to see that the economic aid is really channeled to the Hungarian people. Economic aid to Poland is of primary importance, because Poland needs a special color in the block of the Satellites, and this special

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color of Poland is a very special situation and attitude has a tremendous force of suggestion for the peoples of other satellite countries. I have already spoken of the relative importance of the whole of Yugoslavia among the satellite countries. Yugoslavia's significance should become a point of strength for the free world and the free world should make the best of it for its own designs."

This is what respondent thinks of whether or not the people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors:

"The people of Hungary would like to see any development on their soil, or in the free world, which would contribute to the cessation or easing at least, of their terrible isolation from the free world. The people of Hungary would be overjoyed seeing crowds of Western visitors arriving in their country. In the phase of liberalization in Hungary when rulings of the issuance of visas were somewhat relaxed, a larger number of tourists and visitors from the West came to Hungary. These tourists and visitors had certainly a good chance to experience the warm welcome extended to them by the Hungarian people, and they also could see the great sympathy, the feelings of friendship the Hungarian people showed to them. Ties of individual Hungarians to the Western World, to the free world in general, became even stronger as 200,000 Hungarians fled to the free world, and keep to the greatest extent in good contact with their loved ones in Hungary. Now the people of Hungary would be personally even more attached to visitors from the West, and even more interested in their coming to Hungary."

Respondent answers quickly to the question what such visitors should be told about Hungary before they go:

" I don't favor any such approach. I mean I don't think that any similar type lectures or discussions should be offered to visitors in Hungarian history and geography, etc. I don't think they should receive briefing of conditions in Hungary. I think the knowledge that the common people of the free world have about the Hungarian events of last Fall and about Hungary in general suffice. With the knowledge they have, they are fit to go to Hungary to look around to see for themselves what is going on in Hungary. I think the experiences they would gather in Hungary would well be coordinated in their minds with whatever they knew before of Hungary and Hungarians and I think they would get a fair picture of Soviet operation if they could just go freely around in Hungary and talk to people whom they wish to contact - people in the street and without any police supervision or observation. The only thing that could be done and which is in no way a briefing would be to remind our visitors that they should go on unguided tours and should detach themselves from any

official or semi-official guidance that would be given them in Hungary. If visitors are taken to plants to see the welfare institutions or to families to see how they live, they should seek other opportunities where they are not guided by anybody - where they select the plant or institution or family to see and to speak to. They should look behind the scenes because the stage is set for them by the Communist government. If their visit to Hungary is restricted to resort places, hotels, and museums and public buildings they won't see Hungary as it actually is. But they should certainly see with their own eyes without being pre-conditioned."

This is what respondent thinks whether the people at home would like to receive Western books and periodicals:

"The Hungarian people certainly ~~would~~ wish and long for information from the West and they would certainly cherish receiving anything in the form of books or periodicals. Hungarian intellectuals suffer greatly from the isolation that was clamped down on them by the occupation forces and the secret police. They applied effort and cunning to get periodicals from the West and to get books so as to progress in their own areas and so that they could have more information and so that they could see a wider horizon."

"The simplest thing would be if such periodicals would be sent to ⁸newsstands but of course the possibility of such is hardly imaginable. A great number of books and periodicals should be sent to people and even more to institutions of higher learning, to newspapers and perhaps to libraries."

bbb This is the answer respondent finds to a probing question of the interviewer whether people would not risk very much if they did not deliver the periodicals and books they received in this fashion from the West:

"Even if Communists would resort to applying restrictions for reading these books and periodicals, for instance if they would give permission only to scholars or to people approved by them to read such material, it still would be worth the effort and the money spent on sending such reading material to Hungary. Take for instance my example: I had the only chance to read publications from the West in my own field if I went to the University and the Institute of the University would store such reading material and gave out to only scholars who were trusted for one reason or another as belonging to the scientific research staff of the University. One of my friends happened to be such a research person and

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he brought issues of publications for me to read. This is how I learned details of the secret speech of Khrushchev which he delivered at the 20th Party Congress. I learned those details from a French magazine. I think the title of it was AURAURE."

Asked whether it would make any difference to the people whether or not Hungarian exiles were associated with such activities as Western visitors and publications, respondent answers:

"publications should be sent as I outlined to institutions but not by institutions. They should rather be sent in the name of individuals but not to individuals but to institutions. Individuals should receive publications only if such publications are sent in exceedingly high numbers to all kinds of people in Hungary, including Party officials so that the individual could say that it is not exactly sent to him but 20,000 or 30,000 more people have received the publication, and so it is clear it was not meant directly for him but to people at random and so his responsibility would not be something which would endanger his freedom. Of course if individuals are selected for receiving publications, there should be a large number of addresses among them which would be addresses of Party officials both in the lower and in the higher echelon. This way everybody would be under the same observation and would be in the same ~~danger~~ danger of having received and of having not turned in publications from the West. Of course there is some danger involved that publications would arrive all right in Hungary the first time, but such a campaign we might lose a very great change of corresponding with our people almost unhindered, and we as of now we can send things in quite freely without endangering the people to whom we send the things. However, if such propaganda material would be sent, it could make the Communist forces realize that great things can be achieved this way and they may apply the very stringent restrictions. Indeed, such a campaign would draw after itself the consequence of much more stringent postal inspections. Of course we need not convince the Hungarian people how bad Communism is. The people are mature enough and they have proven it by the revolution that they need not be convinced that Communism is bad. It is my deep conviction that people in Hungary and in other Eastern European countries are much more persuaded anti-communists than anywhere in the world."

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I. United Nations:

Respondent has no doubt in his mind that the UN could have affected the situation in Hungary during the last months of 1956:

"When on Nov. the 3rd, the second massive Russian attack was launched in Hungary and actually an act of international aggression took place, the UN was certainly obliged to send aid - diplomatic, economic and even military aid to the victim of aggression - all the more since that victim of aggression was one of its own members, and because the aggressor was also a member of that ~~making~~ international organization. All the UN did however, was passing resolutions - resolutions which were not carried out in anyway. The people of Hungary, it seems to me, have lost completely their confidence vested in the United Nations, and the UN will need to prove their value by very resolute actions and by deeds which shine."

The following are respondent's suggestions as to what should have been done during the winter and autumn of 1956:

"Secretary General Hammarskjold should have taken a grip to Hungary immediately, and the UN should have found ways to make their resolutions realities, and to force its member nations to carry them out as was the case when France and England and Israel were forced to withdraw from Egypt. Take for instance the resolution of the UN that they would send a fact-finding committee to Hungary. They ought to have dispatched such a fact-finding committee and should not have waited for the permission of the Soviet Union. There would have been several ways to organize a very good fact-finding committee. There was, for instance, a plan for designing the members of the diplomatic corps of the free world stationed in Budapest to function at that the same time as UN observers. This would have been for instance to receive direct reports from UN people, but neither this, nor any other approach was actually tried out in Hungary. If a fact-finding committee ~~was~~ had been sent to Hungary in time, the entire history of the Hungarian revolution could have turned out differently than it has become. But the UN was not able to carry out even such a simple decision as sending an unarmed, small hand-picked observation team, or fact-finding committee to Hungary."

Respondent thinks that there are chances of effecting UN action for Hungary in the foreseeable future:

"The Five-nations committee designated by the UN to launch an investigation about Soviet intervention in Hungary has finished its project now and ~~was~~ probed into the details of premeditated inter-

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vention, and investigated the complex process which led to the revolution and which manifested itself in the revolution. I think that a UN general assembly still could pass a resolution to the effect that it has clearly established the fact that the Kadar government does in no way represent the will and the interests of the Hungarian people; in fact, the UN could subpoena Jare Nagy to appear before the UN and to testify before that international forum. The UN could subpoena other persons, now in jail, to testify so as to throw light upon the events led to the second Soviet intervention in Hungary. In conclusion I might say that resolute action on the side of the United Nations could change very much, but it seems that the UN is rather reluctant to go ahead with resolute actions."

KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. The Greatest Hungarian:

Respondent first engages into making jokes and is utterly reluctant to name the greatest living Hungarian he thinks there is. At long last, he decides that he might name two people of whom he thinks very much, and the two names are Zoltan Kodaly and author, Gyula Illyes.

B. Persons in world affairs:

In the following are the opinions of respondent of the persons as named:

Imre Nagy: he was Moscow trained but the emotional and intellectual life of the Hungarian people is of so much influence in his personality development that he strived to formulate policies which took into account what the Hungarian people are like, what they think like, and what they feel like. Imre Nagy did not give up his communist ideas but he tried to find a right middle-way between Communism and the demands of the Hungarian people. At long last, he even arrived at a decision to announce the right of establishing other parties as well as keeping the Communist party alive. This was a very great thing to do for a member of long standing in the Communist Party. He thus completely rejected the one-party system of Communism. He was the person who declared Hungarian independence and neutrality. It was he who in 1953 started a liberalization process which meant easing the terrible burdens and the restrictions imposed upon the Hungarian people by its Moscow agents. It was he who pronounced the complete independence and the withdrawal from the Warsaw pact of his country. We may say that he met the most important demands of the Hungarian people, and he had the courage to announce them to all the world."

Cardinal Mindszenty: he is a martyr of the Hungarian people, who has an inestimable moral standing in the eyes of the Hungarian people. His statements and his actions mean tremendously much to most of the Hungarian people. Mindszenty's role is certainly to be reckoned with as a historical ~~factor~~ factor, and his significance must, under no circumstances, be underestimated. At the same time, one must also say that opinions which would attach as much importance to his person as to reason that the Hungarian revolution was launched because people wanted to see him free, are of course, gravely mistaken and exaggerated."

Laszlo Rajk: he was one of the most prominent members of the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party. As Minister of the Interior, it was he

who dished up and organized everything in connection with the famous so-called conspiracy trial of 1947, and he ordered the most ruthless methods of mental and physical torture to be used. In the eyes of Moscow, his only short-coming was that he wasn't a Moscowite, and that he was of Transylvanian descent, and by being of such descent, he had some particular interest in matters Hungarian, and he represented a certain special color within the party leadership. Perhaps it was not his intention to have this special color, and perhaps he did not have some special, and more interest in matters Hungarian than did the other Communist leaders, but somehow he had such a reputation among the people, and this reputation caused his colleagues to have some jealousy for him. The most important person to be jealous of Rajk's reputation was, of course, Kádár himself. Now in retrospect we can see the whole issue ~~is~~ built around Rajk, quite clearly. Rajk was told by his superiors that he had to sacrifice for the Party, not only his life but something he loved greater and that is truth. He was told that he had to surrender truth to Party interests. It was through all kinds of torture and so-called ~~mental~~ mental anguish and so-called persuasion in the Communist sense that he was won over to this idea. At long last, he was fully conscious of what he was doing and it was in cold blood that he confessed to all charges leveled against him - charges which were completely contrary to the actual facts. Doing so he completely condemned himself and all of his associates. The Communist leaders who were talking to Rajk before his trial and during his trial made him somehow understand that it was their duty to keep the Communist Party always on the alert and alarmed; always, in a state of great preparedness against the enemies of Communism, and if there are no enemies who are just preparing to attack Communism with great blows, they have to invent such enemies. They made him understand that the cause he had ~~chosen~~ to serve was in this case one that went far beyond the borders of Hungary, and Communism in the Eastern European Countries was at stake when he had to confess to the charges. They persuaded him by the methods mentioned above that the great cause of Communism could be very greatly advanced by his confessing, (of course using their typical terminology). Rajk was a faithful and dedicated soldier of his Party and at long last accepted all these attempts at persuading him. In his speech which he delivered at his trial in the courtroom, he even amplified the charges which were ~~amplified~~ thrust upon him. He amplified many of those charges and underscored their importance by his own very well reasoned and very well constructed testimony which he spoke with clear voice."

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XVII / 6x C.

Erno Gero: "one of the brilliant members of Party leadership whose stamina is really admirable. He was trained in the very vigorous way from his youth in Communist ideology. This Communist indoctrination and training completely killed off in him in his entire mind any semblance of a sense of humour. Erno Gero is reputed not having been seen by anybody even smiling. He consecrated his entire life and all of his ideas and pep and vigor to the aims as laid down, announced and promoted by the leaders in Moscow. He had a job of major importance the first time in the Spanish Civil War. Returning to Hungary, he proved himself to be a very eager and capable tool of Moscow. Ever since he has served Communism in very important positions. In a certain sense, he was responsible for the outbreak of the revolution because he aroused the profound anger of the demonstrators with his speech which can be termed, at least, as something very unwise. He ~~was~~ termed... the demonstrators Fascist counter-revolutionaries. Just imagine the demonstrators who were the almost hand-picked favorites of the Communist regime, namely college and University students."

Janos Kadar: " he is a non-Moscowite Communist. He was raised in (UJPEST)? one of the suburbs of Budapest which resisted heroically during the Hungarian revolution last fall. His mother ~~was~~ was a devote Catholic. They held Catholic funeral services when she died, and that was during the time when Kadar was Minister of Interior. One of the reasons for the purge of Kadar was that he participated in that funeral while he was Minister of Interior. Imagine the Minister of Interior of a Communist country at the Catholic funeral services of his own mother, together with the many relatives and neighbors of his mother! Such and other similar events either real or imagined indicate that there are many ties with which he is in close connection with the Hungarian people, or at least, was. After all, for some quite time he was an integral part of the every day life and atmosphere of.....Pest, that typical suburb of Budapest. It is only now, probably, that all of those ties have been severed. He became a slave holder of a person who used to be slave himself. He became an enemy of the workers, he who had been a worker ~~himself~~ hi self."

General Bela Kiraly: "I know General Kiraly too much to be able to speak detached, impassively and objectively of his person, I am afraid."

Anna Kethly: "I prefer not to comment on her personality and her role either for the same reasons as stated above."

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President Eisenhower: "there was tremendous rejoicing in Hungary at the election and re-election of President Eisenhower. On both occasions we expected an awful lot of him. His classic radio speech in which he termed the peoples of eastern Europe and pointed to the great ideals of national independence and freedom, and similar many manifestations on his part, seemed to indicate to us a very clear, visible line in American policy. They implied to us that it is not only in ideas that the wish of the American people can be manifested but that also have a practical program for carrying out those ideals of which like to speak. President Eisenhower's annual Christmas messages deeply impressed us. Those speeches had a lot to say to Hungarians and other captive nations, and be sure they all listened very eagerly to those speeches. But lately I am under the impression and I have talked with friends who claim to be under the same impression that President Eisenhower is perhaps over eager to distance himself from his military past, and that this is the reason why he is so anxious to refrain from any strong, determined political moves, and even from speaking in unequivocal terms. It is my feeling and shared by others, that ~~Franklin~~ Truman who came from civilian life would have acted more resolutely and swiftly in hours of decision than his successor did. I think that the way he acted in the Korean crisis was typical of his attitude" (?)

Dulles: " I think he is one of the greatest diplomats of our times, but the American Foreign Policy which is connected with the name and the personality of Dulles in a great many ways, has been lately lacking in determination and vision and straight forward nailing down of principles and goals, and even of ways and means that would be necessary in the present state of affairs. I admit that I am always inclined to look at the things from the angle of the Hungarian and the East European events and its problems and goals, but forgive me if I make a very vigorous statement to the effect that it seems to me that the great changes - ups and downs, forwards and backwards - in American foreign policy remind me of the great changes, reversals and corrections in the policy making of the Soviet Union. Once you hear about cold war; then again, about the policy of peaceful co-existence; again, another time, you hear about dynamic peace by which I still don't know what actually is meant. All of this adds up to leaving us in the dark about the actual goals and principles of American and free world foreign policy. We certainly would appreciate to see the actual dreams and plans and ways and means with which the American Foreign Policy imagines to realize its aims in Eastern Europe."

Eden: "I think of Eden as a very capable and very competent diplomat who is very much worth ~~xxxx~~ listening to. His plans and ideas should

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carry very much weight. His whole way of thinking in diplomatic matters is characterized by a stark realism which I think is very necessary, and is not shared well enough by a great many of his colleagues. His plan - the so-called Eden plan - is the most realistic among all the concepts of which we can hear in foreign policy."

Truman: "I have the best recollections of the role of President Truman and I ~~know~~ have a very high opinion of Mr. Truman. Although first he was not elected President but succeeded his predecessor, later he certainly deserved by his actions to be elected a President. He had a particularly well-developed sense of assessing a situation and of arriving at policy decisions which are so necessary at the highest level. The Truman doctrine as well as his activities in the foreign field made a very great impression upon me, as well as upon most Hungarians."

Mikoyan: "I think of him as one of the cleverest and smartest politicians in the Kremlin. The shrewdness and flexibility of this politician of Armenian descent is certainly exceptional among the Russian leaders. Such accomplishments of his, as for instance, his putting in words the attitude of the Soviet in permitting Austria to regain its independence and to live ^{the} life of a free country was truly was truly a masterpiece of diplomacy, and he gained some measure of popularity ~~by~~ actions as this. The indulgence he demonstrated in those negotiations which led to concluding the Austrian peace treaty certainly contributed to his gaining power and respect. The relief and replacement of Rakoczi was also connected with a visit of Mikoyan in Budapest. It was Mikoyan who suggested a more liberal and more indulgent attitude in economic policies toward Hungary. He has been regarded as a trouble-shooter among the leaders of the Soviet Union. He has been considered a person who is close to the thinking of the masses, at least in understanding them, drawing consequences if the leadership thinks it wise to draw consequences from recognition of the actual attitude of the millions. All of his actions, of course, have always been well within the confines of all the framework of Soviet foreign ~~policy~~ policy."

Nehru: "He is one of the most outstanding statesmen of the world who is one of the true voices of the world of peoples in India. He appears to have a tremendous popularity in India and I think that the policy of independence which he is carrying out is completely the expression of the will of the peoples of India. There is something about him, however, that should cause serious concern. Namely, his activities through which he kind of passes down second hand the concept he interprets as the concept of the Soviet Union. He seems to be eager to interpret the intentions and plans of the Soviet Union and to justify many of its actions. The role of his allegedly trusted friend, Kennan - his chief representative at the UN - should cause even more concern. His role could by no means ~~not~~ be termed a blessed one, but it seems that there can be influenced also for the good and influence can be wielded upon him which prompts him to take very positive steps. The pressure of the broad masses of the Indian people who were alarmed at the Hungarian events of last fall, induced him to take a positive stand although he, because

representative at the UN - should cause even more concern. His role could by no means be termed a blessed one, but it seems that there can be influence also for the good, and influence can be wielded upon him which prompts him to take very positive steps. The pressure of the broad masses of the people of India who were alarmed at the Hungarian events of last fall, induced him to take a positive stand, although he, because of considerations not stemming from a realistic appraisal of his situation in Asia he didn't make it as clear as we hope he actually saw things."

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek: " He is a very interesting and well defined personality in world politics. Unfortunately, I think he missed his chances in China because he surrounded himself by a completely corrupt staff of generals and administrative leaders. It was due to that corruptness that the money that he received in the form of aid from the West to spend on armament and social institutions, was to a greatest extent played into the hands of the Communists. It was the rotten, corrupt clique which surrounded him that lost sight of the great idea of national independent China, of a democratic nation. Many in that clique played into the hands of the Communists. I am afraid that he has become an out-of-date politician. At present, he may represent the national China in Taiwan but there must be new, completely new people, personalities of imagination and stature who will have to build up a new China."

Ferenc Nagy: Respondent declines to make comment on Ferenc Nagy because of the reasons he mentioned above in similar cases.

Roosevelt: He was an ingenious President of the US. By his new deal policies, he was able to stabilize the economy of the US and in doing so, he took the side of the small people. He was President in an unbelievably hard times...during the time of the world economic crises he needed every council possible - sober, determined statesmanship to lead the affairs of the nation, and to a great extent, those of the world - to save the world from a disaster from which there is no escape. At the same time, I must also point to the fact that in the course of rearrangements statesmen made in the second half of the second World War immediately after the Second World War, President Roosevelt didn't tackle international matters with the same clear vision as he demonstrated in his policies on the domestic front. As a matter of course his success and his overall deficiency in the international matters in the post-war period proved incomparably less than his success in

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domestic affairs. Particularly in Yalta, he seemed to have thought the time ripe to take over the role of Great Britain in several parts of the world, particularly in the Middle-East, and in pursuing such aims, he too often approached the point of the Soviet Union too closely. He quite often completely concurred; in other cases came to an unfavorable compromise with the Soviet Unions' stand. The book written by one of his sons on mainly the Yalta agreements brings out clearly the fact that Churchill saw much clearer the situation in Europe than did Roosevelt. In retrospect, no doubt remains, that Churchill was much closer to the truth than was Roosevelt. Another great mistake of President Roosevelt was during the second World War, the fact that he did not accept Churchill's move that invasion be carried on by opening a second front on the Balkans instead of opening such a front in ~~Russia~~ Italy. Had the second step of invasion of the West Allies taken place in the Balkans instead of Italy, the entire picture in Eastern Europe would be a basically different one."

Chancellor Adenauer: "Chancellor Adenauer has achieved such a degree of reintegration, revival and transformation of the German people that it is hardly equaled in history. After Hitler's regime of terror broke down, the German people found themselves in a state of a tremendous economic and political confusion. It was Chancellor Adenauer who was most responsible for making the German people again homogeneous politically, and prosperous economically. He based his actions on a great recognition of psychological and economic nature. He was able to fight a number of co-workers who proved to be excellent partners in building up a new Germany. Through his economic organs, he was able to win for himself the cooperation ofBeepke.....; His genius of an economist has given him a great many counsels which proved to be excellent in putting Germany on a footing of sound economy. Chancellor Adenauer accomplished to persuade one of the most militaristically minded nations of the world to demilitarize and even to assume an attitude of anti-militarism."

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Stalin: Respondent jokingly asks whether he is permitted to remain seated while the name of Stalin is mentioned because he reminds us of the fact that Hungarians had for a great many years to stand up when the name of Stalin was mentioned. "Questionably his historical record is most impressive ones. When he assumed leadership of the Soviet Union he had much less qualities for leadership than did Lenin have, and he was also less equipped in the knowledge of Marxism and Leninism, but curiously enough, he had the ability to convey those Marxist and Leninist ideas as in a way it found response in broad masses. He very carefully and consciously chose a language in all of his writings and speeches which were fully of expressions and idioms taken from the dialect of the common people. He very often used popular Russian sayings, proverbs. This was about the only step which can be termed as his true connection with the people. He set up the machinery of oppression of such a size and of such efficiency that has been unequalled in world history. He completely abolished the policies of the NEP and thus he returned to what is termed in Communist ideology "War" Communism. Moreover, he tolerated no contradiction to his ideas and his policies, not even within the polit bureau of the Communist Party and he mercilessly liquidated all of his opponents. His person and his status at least became the greatest symbol of oppression everywhere in the Soviet and Communist orbit. His person and his status became the symbol of all kinds of encroachments upon other people's rights and interference in other people's affairs. Even Khrushchev reported to the world that in his later years Stalin showed really visible signs of schizophrenia and of paranoia. In a summer residence, he surrounded himself with his own statues and he enjoyed looking at his pictures again and again. Such a high degree of self-adoration led him at last into an avenue in which avenue every dictator has to walk sooner or later - every dictator's ties to the people are severed and his ties to reality and in general."

Malenkov: " He is a statesman of major importance in the Soviet Union. He has represented a very special color in the political general staff of the Soviet Union. First of all, he is of pure Russian descent, and alone for this reason, he is more understood and more favored by the actual Russians than the Armenian Mikoyan, or the Georgian, Stalin, or the Ukrainian Khrushchev. Consequently, he apparently he symbolizes the actual Russian people. At the same time, Malenkov is an engineer;

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consequently, Russian intelligentsia great respect for him and has more confidence in him than in the others; at the same time, this is transferred to the entire to the entire Russian people and the other people of the Soviet Union who are impressed by the fact that somebody is ~~usually~~ not only a politician but is also a person of the intelligentsia who acquired some degree in science. Malenkov became popular after the death of Stalin by his own policies, and the fact that Imre Nagy was able to make his history-making speech after the Third Party Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party - the speech that is referred to - the one that outlines the so-called "True Way" policy of ~~Malenkov's~~ "New Course" was... ~~through his~~ in Hungary impossible by Malenkov's policies. If under the given circumstances, I ought to choose who the leader of the Soviet Union should be - I emphasise under the given political circumstances - my choice would be by all means Malenkov."

Generalissimo Franco: "He started as a dictator. During the Spanish Civil war I had no sympathies for him, neither had my ~~fix~~ friends. The system of government and the way of life he has set up in Spain with the help of the Falangists is completely contrary to every thing we call democracy or parliamentary system or constitutionalism. But Generalissimo Franco did not fall into the fatal abyss of mistake of dictators. Namely, he found out that if he wants to have any international relations, he has to liberalize and democratize Spain. His first step in the right direction was that he was unwilling to declare war on France or to attack it from behind during the World War. This in spite of the fact that in the first half of World War II, Germany and its allies gained great victories and extended their power over large areas. Italy, it must be remembered, was very willing to attack France from the rear. This was the way for Franco to take out life-insurance for his government for after the World War II. Remaining a neutral, he actually supported the cause of the Allies in many ways. After the second World War, a decisive attack unfolded against Franco. This attack was launched first of all by the Soviets and the entire Soviet block, and secondly, by the Russian emigres who have been constantly very busy in carrying out exile ~~political~~ manoeuvres aimed at overthrowing Franco. They often, again and again, expected the collapse of Franco's regime within weeks and sometimes even within days. But as we know this was not the case, and Spain has been able to maintain its position, even though it had recurring great difficulties in the economic field. Reports received lately point to

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the fact that Franco is willing to make his regime even more democratic than it has been before. We can't accept the ideas and the entire attitude of Franco because they are not democratic, but his dictatorship may be called the least savage of all dictatorships of the present day."

Bevan: "He's one of the leaders of the left wing of the British Labor Party. While Minister of Welfare, he introduced sweeping measures to improve the youth and compensation systems of the workers - or at least he was one of those most responsible for those measures. He is one of the characteristic personalities in British politics. I have the feeling that his exclusion from the British Labor Party was a mistake because thus Bevan was given a chance to organize those people rallying around him in a separate block. After he was readmitted to the Party his attitude became much more positive, and constructive. He has a definite historical role. When Khrushchev and Bulganin were on a state visit in England, it was Bevan himself - the leader of the left wing of the Labor Party, mind you - who presented the Soviet leaders with a list of leaders of the Socialist Party of Hungary and other democratic leaders who were in jail at that time, and he demanded immediate action that they be released. This move was of an unspeakable significance. Just a little later, basic changes were actually made in this respect in Hungary. Many of those listed were released and many, to use Communist terminology, were rehabilitated."

Khrushchev: " He is one of the most dynamic and interesting personalities in Soviet politics. His policies were influenced greatly in the beginning by his feelings against Stalin. The details of his so-called secret speech at the 20th Party Congress, are perhaps known. I am referring to the detail according to which he, as a Ukrainian, was forced by Stalin to dance on the occasion of a reception. This fact put a mark upon the entire attitude of Khrushchev. He was never able to forget this humiliation. It was he who sounded off the slogan of de-Stalinization. It was he who revealed a great many frightening facts about the system that is called "Stalinism". In his speech, mentioned before, delivered at the 20th Party Congress, he revealed the utter stupidity of the Stalinist policies, and he declared and announced new policies which he termed the principle of collective leadership.

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He indeed affected many changes in the Soviet Union, and in the Soviet orbit. Take, for instance, the reconciliation with Marshal Tito of a closer connection with the Western World. After all he was the first Secretary General of the Bolshevik Party who actually had traveled abroad and traveled, mind you, in Western Countries. Together with the Soviet Prime Minister he introduced the Soviet policy of "smiles", but at the same time we must remark that the basic policies of the Soviet Union did not change, even under his leadership, and particularly lately, he completely returned to the lines of the Soviet policies as outlined and practiced by Stalin. He is even quoted as having made a remark to the effect that in foreign policies, they follow the line of Stalin, and he emphasized, again and again, that the "Western Imperialists" must not be allowed a single step within the realm of the Soviet world (by which term he of course meant all of the countries in bondage). Khrushchev's present attitude is that of the well-known, traditional attitude of Imperialism, colonization, and striving for world domination. On the domestic front, he is reinforcing the policies of oppression. In spite of the fact that the personality is quite different from Stalin's, he is actually continuing the policies nailed down and practiced by Stalin."

Tito: "He is a clever politician. He realizes the importance of his country. He clearly recognizes that his country is needed both by the Soviet Union and by the powers of the free world, ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ Tito tries all kinds of tricks to take unfair advantage of the relative importance of his country to both sides in the struggle developing the entire world. By establishing, in part, and emphasizing in part, the idea and policy of the third side, of the neutral block, he means to be a third power, at least a leading figure in the third power in the struggle. He means to represent the third power both in the UN and in the public opinion of the world. Although he really takes advantage of his peculiarly situation between East and West, that is to say rather between the Soviet block and the free world, and although he has received tremendous aid in the economic as well as in the military field, somehow for reasons not known to me, he has not been able to put his country on a ~~xxxx~~ sound economic basis. The economic situation in Yugoslavia is pitiful and the standard of living is very, very low. It is inconceivable for me, how he, in spite of so much help he has not been able to manage to put his country in

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XVII/8x L.

a better shape. Perhaps part of the explanation may be found in the fact that he maintains an army which is proportionately large. The exaggerated pomp and glamour that surrounds Tito and his immediate staff may also be responsible for the bad economic situation of his country."

Peron: "Peron is a dictator, and as a dictator I cannot have a good opinion of him. His position may well be determined by his relations to the Catholic Church. For some time, there were Catholic circles which hoped that Peron might establish a regime which can live amicably with the church and which politically means a step in the right direction. However, Peron's entire system became worse and worse, and so did his relation to the Catholic church. This ~~worsening~~ worsening of his relations was well demonstrated by the fact that he was not received by the Pope during his visit to Italy."

Molotov: " He is one of the oldest representatives of Communism, and for quite some time he was the most representative figure in Communist foreign policy and diplomacy. He has been completely on the line of the Stalinists in Communism. He is not even willing to take steps which are dictated by political maneuvering, which steps would mean deviation from the rigid Stalinist line. He made perhaps the only exception when he concluded the friendship and non-aggression pact with the Germans, which futility he probably clearly foresaw. He probably recognized the tremendous forces which were behind both parts and which in no way could be promised, but still he maneuvered in order to gain time for Soviet Russia to arm - to arm more vigorously than before, but after the 2nd world war, he realized the power ambitions of Soviet Russia with undeniable cleverness and cold consistency. A good look at the gains and losses realized by various powers after World War II, it is really visible that it was the Soviet Union which gained in every field and increased its territory and its power tremendously, and the powers of the free world withdrew at the same time on several fronts. These gains of the Soviet policy were to a great extent due to the cleverness of Molotov's foreign policy. The powers of the free world were unable to counter the energetic, dynamic and preemptory foreign policy of Molotov. This is why the free world lost one after the other - China, Korea, and now Indo-China. It was only with tremendous difficulties, losses, that the free world managed to push back the Communist infiltration in Greece."

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Ollenhauer: "He is a classical representative of West European socialism. His actions, statements, and his moderation certainly represent a special color in German politics. Ollenhauer's ideas and political concept are certainly to be an integral part in the politics of a democratic country, and especially now in Germany. One may not agree with every detail of his policies, as I don't, because there is too much isolationism and rigidity in them in his way of thinking. He quite often doesn't look beyond the German frontiers but I'm persuaded that if Ollenhauer and his party would take over government in Germany, they would break with the isolationist and separatist policy, just as other Labor Parties switch when assuming power essentially continue the ~~isolationist~~ policies of their predecessors."

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

A. Characterization of escapees:

"Of course the escapees and the exiles may be grouped according to various aspects. According to one aspect of these, I would suggest that perhaps the following three groups may be established. The first group that I wish to mention might be characterized as the most variable group, and it includes such who were forced to leave Hungary because of political reasons and mainly because of their active participation in the revolution. These people were anxious to remain in Hungary for good, never to leave it, and to continue with the struggle - even under circumstances which changed basically after the second Russian attack on Nov. 4th, and they escaped only after they saw the futility of their fight and saw that their own lives were threatened by execution, or at least by the loss of freedom for a long number of years, let alone torture which would mutilate mind and body. How seriously these political exiles, as I might term them, considered staying in Hungary may be proven by the fact how many thousands of people who were in equally dangerous positions still preferred to remain in Hungary and face death, torture and imprisonment. There is another group of exiles, of escapees, who actually had planned even before to leave Hungary. Some of these had relatives - at least close friends abroad, and others only thought that they would have a free and economically well balanced life in the free world."

At a probing question whether these people conceived plans to escape to the West only during Communist regime, or even before, respondent has this to answer:

"Most of them thought of leaving Hungary only during the Communist regime, but there were a few who meant emigrate from Hungary even before and under conditions that came about by the revolution. The borders became open towards the West. So many of these people saw a way to realize their plans to find a new life in the free West where they could occupy positions sooner or later - positions which are proportionate to their talents and their devotion to work. ~~xxxxxx~~
The third group which is of course by far the smallest but still something to be mentioned if one wants to be complete in his statement. This is an extremely small group consisting of such who are fishing in troubled waters. In every revolution such elements come to the surface for awhile, and it is indeed admirable that they played no role in the Hungarian revolution - certainly no role other than taking part in the actual combat actions. It is almost an incredible, but an undeniable fact, that all of these elements were under the complete

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XVIII/8x B.

control of the responsible type of people, so they were not able to form mobs which would have committed actions of irresponsible atrocities, of wanton destruction etc- actions which usually characterize revolutions, but it is undeniable that such elements also came to the West in the wake of the great exodus from Hungary and many of them came driven by a restlessness, and some to seek adventure, and others to take unfair advantage of the hospitality extended to them. These elements showed their real faces in disturbances in camps which were set up in Austria for refugees. The difficulties caused by people in refugee camps were, of course, due to the presence of such elements (of course aside from the work of Communist provocateurs)."

" From the geographic angle, we may say the following: the geographic location of people certainly influenced their decision whether or not to flee to the Free world and it influenced their decisions in a high degree. People living in the neighborhood of the Western border were at ease to leave Hungary. I was told that there were villages in the nearest proximity of the Western border which almost entirely evacuated. People who lived close to the Yugoslave border, of course, found it much easier to cross over to Yugoslavia and a great many people were later forced to do just this because the Western border was hermitically sealed. I wish to emphasize on this point that people who fled to Yugoslavia did not prefer that country because of its political nature. The thousands who fled to Yugoslavia did not sympathize with Tito's so-called national communism. This fact is very important ~~xxxxxx~~ not to lose sight of, because there are people who say that the refugees who fled to Yugoslavia are unreliable, because they favor national communism. This is very, very far from the truth."

"Before going over to another subject, there is one more thing I would like to emphasize: it seems to me, and many of my friends concur with me (I should say virtually all of my friends do) that the Soviet troops could have sealed the border between Hungary and Austria after the first few days after their second assault on Hungary, but they omitted to do this. They omitted to do this because they hoped that the succeeding large numbers appearing in the countries of the free West would steal the show, and would exhaust the will and resources of the countries of the free world to do something in the Hungarian question. They hoped that the tremendous indignation

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XVIII/8x C.

that their inhuman actions caused in the conscience of the free world, would be very soon converted into taking care of the refugees. In fact, we may conclude that the question of refugees has given tasks of charity and social tasks to the countries of the free West which seem to exhaust them, and summarily we may say that the Hungarian question became in the minds of many people of the free West, a charity question. Soviet politicians clearly foresaw this, and they meant to reduce the Hungarian question of mobilizing social and charitable institutions, diverting from the essential, actual question which is the freedom and independence of Hungary. I think that the pressure upon the puppet regime of Hungary and upon the Soviet Union would have been much greater had the problem of the refugees not been such a tremendous task to cope with."

This is how respondent feels about those who stayed behind:

"Several types of people remained in Hungary, and although an extremely small number though, but perhaps it should be mentioned as first, because their stay in Hungary was the most natural one. I am referring to people who stayed behind because they were compromised by their actions during the Communist regime. The vast majority of Hungarian peasantry stayed in Hungary. Peasants have been characteristically the group of the population which is the least mobile. By its occupational interests as well as by its entire attitude toward life conditioned peasantry to be immobile. Many elderly people remained in Hungary - almost all elderly people who found it hard to leave their beloved country and to start a new life somewhere among strange people. Also such people remained in Hungary whose circumstances in the family - like small children, or sick people - forced them to remain, forced them by the ties of love, affection and charity. Last but not least, a very essential and politically very variable segment of the population has to be mentioned. Those are the ones who were and are dedicated to serving their people's freedom even though under very adverse conditions, even though facing persecution, and privations. Their dedication persuaded them even in utterly hopeless circumstances to stay in Hungary and to do their utmost to ameliorate conditions, if no where

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XVIII/8x D.

else at least in their immediate surroundings. We knew of many of our friends and acquaintances who went to the border and let their family go and find shelter and food and freedom in the free West; they, however, went back to continue fighting because they felt they had a duty to fulfill. Unfortunately I may give an account of a large proportion of these people in my own acquaintance, who have since been jailed, and several of them have been tortured to death, or executed. There is hardly anything in the Hungarian revolution which deserves so much attention and so much respect as the attitude of those who stayed behind risking their lives."

This is respondent's attitude when he is probed as to whether the very first group that he mentioned includes only such as actually fought, or otherwise participated actively in the revolution, perhaps in burghers Councils and revived democratic parties, etc, or such people as well, who, perhaps did not actively participate in the revolution but feared that reprisals would affect even them: "No doubt there are a great many people who should be included in the first or second group, or a sub-group in between, who did not actively participate but were aware of the Communist attitude in establishing collective responsibility. People feared that they would also be included among those who are suffering reprisals, either in the form of deportations or in the form of imprisonment. They had to fear this because they saw thousand and thousands of Hungarian youth herded into railroad cars and deported to Siberia, and they also saw that those people were not picked but were indiscriminately chosen and deported."

When respondent is asked for an example of a person he knew who decided to remain in Hungary even though he had an opportunity to escape, respondent volunteers the following example:

"I knew very well a newspaper man who was on the editorial staff of ~~the~~ one of the leading Communist papers and who was a Communist for awhile. Since 1953 and 54, he completely joined the group who may be called the followers of Imre Nagy, and he certainly regretted his own responsibility in promoting the Communist regime by being on the editorial staff on that Communist paper for a number of years, and

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XVIII/9x 8.

he did everything possible in his power to promote liberalization, and democratization. During the revolution he wrote articles which belong to the gems of the revolution. Kadar in one of his speeches remembered three persons particularly, mentioning them by name, who according to his allegations were particularly responsible for fomenting resentment against the Communist line, and fanning the flame of revolution - that is to say as he termed it, counter-revolution. One of those mentioned was by the then in jail, and another one was this friend of mine. I met this friend, and he made it clear that he was fully aware of his being singled out by the regime to be one of the scape-goats. At the same time, he didn't do more than take his wife and children to the border and let them go to freedom and security, and he himself came back to Budapest. Again I had a chance to talk to him, and I asked him why he acted this way, why he didn't choose the path of exile himself. He said that he thought it was incompatible with his principles. He mentioned the example of Socrates who was also a partisan of his country of Athens, and who when he was given a chance to escape did not escape but rather emptied the glass containing poison and he said: "I also feel a proud citizen of Athens, and I considered its laws for awhile binding and compelling me to obey and now again I feel obligated to take the glass of poison. I have been a Communist for a long while, and now of course I don't identify myself with the regime anymore and have not identified myself for quite some time, still I think it would be a poor attitude; it would be utter yellowness to escape now to the West. I would consider it cowardice and submissiveness to escape." He explained to me that he knew the composition of the emigre groups in the free world and he was well aware that because having been a Communist he would expose himself to undue attacks to a disbelief in his actual and genuine conversion. But above all, he emphasized that he had great tasks to perform in Hungary. I should have mentioned before that in those days he was participating in editing and publishing a clandestine paper named "October the 23rd" but when I mention this, it is only for information of the people on the staff of the Hungarian interviewing project, and I beseech them not to publish this fact of his having edited "Oct. the 23rd" because this man is now in prison and that might invite more material of accusation against him. It was only one week after our conversation

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IVIII/9x F.

that this friend of mine was seized by the AVH and arrested of course."

Asked what, in his opinion, the people of Hungary think about those who left, respondent says:"

"I think their opinion is remarkably uniform, unusual as this is with Hungarians, this is due to the fact that if most families have either relatives or at least acquaintances in their own town or the village who escaped and this way we may say, the entire Hungarian people are in some kind of personal contact with people who fled to the West. The 200,000 Hungarian refugees represent a number which includes people from all walks of life, and from most geographical locations. It is for this reason, that I think that most people in Hungary are looking toward the escapees with an attitude of understanding, but the beyond the shadow of a doubt, the people of Hungary expect those who escaped to remain true to the Hungarian people and to the cause for which they had fought; and they expect them to do everything in their power to help them politically as well as economically."

Assuming they had a chance to come to the West, this is the percentage of Hungarians, respondent estimates would still have stayed in Hungary:

"I venture to guess that the number escaped to the West would have been four times as large as it is under the given circumstances now. In other words, I would estimate that somewhere around 800,000 might have left Hungary. The complete evacuation of Hungary would have amounted to giving up the existence of the Hungarian nation and it would have been resented by most people in Hungary. Mainly ~~economic~~ psychological but also economical reasons and considerations would have forced most people to remain in Hungary."

B. Exile organizations and individuals:

Respondent's knowledge of these is expressed in the following words: "The following exile organizations, that is to say Hungarian exile organizations were known by me and by most of my friends while we were in Hungary: above all, the Hungarian National Council. I also knew several persons who were functioning in the National Council. I think I knew the majority of the people functioning. I also knew The Assembly of Captive Nations in which the Hungarians also participated. I knew them mainly through their statements and their proclamations which were broadcast over RFE and other foreign stations."

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XVIII/ 9x G.

As far as other exile individuals are ~~concerned~~ ~~that~~ a number ~~following~~ are known to me to be playing a role abroad, of whom I will speak later. As far as their activities are concerned, I cannot say much. I know very little of their activities and know hardly more than their mere existence. I know more of the activities of the Assembly of Captive Nations than of the activities of any single individual. The few legal publications of which I was able to get hold dealt very little, if at all, with the exile leaders. Western radio stations, take for instance Radio Free Europe, dealt very little with the activities of the activities of the Hungarian exile leaders. Of course I'm speaking only of the years which I spent out of prison and then I might have missed a few broadcasts when there was much talk about the activities of certain leaders, but I have not heard ~~any~~ from friends about such broadcast; that is to say, I heard both myself and through friends some scanty remarks and news items, but we heard of the Assembly of Captive Nations. I remember one article by Paul Aurer which appeared in the *Suricher Zeitung*, who wrote of the Assembly of Captive Nations. Perhaps the largest source for news material, I found on Hungarian exile leaders was the Communist press itself. In its attacks upon exile leaders, it mentioned quite a few facts. Of course, distorted facts, but it referred to exile leaders on many an occasion but lately even these attacks diminished, and became not much more than zero. For one reason or another, the Communist press did not find it necessary or worthwhile dealing with them in the last few months. I made a remark on this point that the picture now suddenly changed again, and the Communist press and radio are giving very much space to attack new Hungarian exile leaders. Anna Kethly and Bela Kiraly are the targets of almost daily attacks in all kinds of news items about in all kinds of news items and articles in the Communist press of today, particularly as quotations from speeches -take for instance the speeches of Marosan, or Kallay, or Kadar, Szbed Nep or rather Nepszabadsag, are particularly bent on insulting the exile leaders again and again. Of course, according to Communist custom they dig deep into the past of the accused and try to prove that they were never all right. They try to bring evidence to prove that Anna Kethly was a traitor to the cause of the workers, and for instance, one worker complains that a delegation which she was supposed to receive was not admitted to her at all, but was left waiting in her lobby, and such complaints are aired again and again."

When respondent is asked to tell us his feelings about these exile leaders and organizations, he comes up with the following answer:

"I find it extremely difficult to answer this question. When after my flight from Hungary, I received basic information on these persons and organizations and their activities, I took an attitude together with a number of friends, - our attitude was that we are in no agreement with the personal constitution of the Hungarian National Council, nor do we agree with a number of their basic principles and policies, while at the same time, we certainly paid due respect to every single person - or at least almost every single person in the Hungarian National Council because we think that they are respectable people. We mean to represent the Hungarian revolution, and to represent those principles which were somehow crystallized during the revolution, and we are willing to pursue only policies which are in line with the basic tenets of the Hungarian Communism, and we are ready to go hand in hand with only such statements who mean to represent the Hungarian nation, who identify themselves completely with the ideas of the Hungarian revolution. We think of the "Hungarian Unity" as of a unity in principles because any unity which is not based upon firmly conceived principles is something fictitious, not genuine, and such a "unity" will sooner or later turn out to be a failure. These considerations were the reason for me not to seek contact with these "old" exile organizations in Vienna during my stay in that City. I refrain from any ~~contact~~ contact with these organizations so as not to make the impression that I am entering upon "deal" with them, I mean a deal of my own. But I was instructed in Vienna that these organizations were very busy, and they were able to afford to do much, mainly with the financial aid of the "FIRST AID FOR HUNGARY" and I was informed that mainly a certain General Lengyel was responsible for the activities of these exile organizations. Perhaps I should be more specific and call the the Hungarian National Council by name, but I got into contact with organizations which are less political in nature and are based on a much more broad - rather, cultural basis - which are aid organizations - charity organizations, such, for instance The Hungarian Aid Bureau in Paris, France. Its leader is Father Imre Gecser. There was a number of social, sports and cultural organizations in France where I spent some time after the revolution with which I came into contact, and which I appreciated very much."

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XVIII/9: I.

When interviewer asks respondent to speak more of what he knew of the Assembly of Captive Nations for comparison, respondent answers as follows:

"Perhaps I wasn't accurate enough when I said that we were pretty well informed about the role of the Assembly of Captive Nations. I only meant to emphasize that we knew the main things about it, and we knew even less about Hungarian Exile Organizations. On my knowledge of this organization, I cannot say much more than the essential fact that it is an international body composed of leaders - free leaders of those nations - working together in amity and international understanding and that their aim is to do everything in their power to keep the free world aware of the fact that our nations are in bondage, and to let their voices be heard on occasions when they can say something for one or the other, or for all of them. And of course, I knew several of their statements and at this point I wish to remark that these statements were not in every point wise and statesmanlike, or at least so it seemed to me."

Upon a probe whether respondent says ~~that this~~ that this critical remark only in retrospect, he answers resolutely, that he has held this opinion ever since he heard that certain statement to which he is referring. "I can very vividly recall one the resolutions of the Assembly of Captive Nations which resolutions were passed before the Hungarian revolution. The one I am referring to was a declaration of the Assembly of Captive Nations and it stated that the intellectual ferment which was by then clearly distinguishable in various captive nations, and it seems to me the declaration referred particularly to Hungary, clearly showed that the people of those countries are longing for an economy of unlimited enterprise. This declaration meant to point out that the nations behind the iron curtain are all longing for an absolutely free economy and that the intellectual ferment and the restlessness in those countries clearly prove that people are longing for a system ~~with~~ a system identical with those of Western democracies. I may agree with the Assembly of Captive Nations even if not completely, but essentially. However, I wish to point out that the publishing of such a declaration was extremely unwise and was not statesman-like at all. It was an easy job for the Communists to put their finger on these statements and to refer to every ~~critical~~ ^{reform} movement as reactionary."

Respondent does not emphasize the following point, however interviewer thinks that it is a crucial point and that it deserves a separate paragraph and italics in a text:

"In Hungary, we had to take steps in our struggle with Communism. Steps

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XVIII/10x J.

Stk which were very well spoken of before. We had to meditate a lot - talk over things very well, and then plan and schedule every move painstakingly, cautious in all of our actions. We had to find points upon which to focus our attention and of which we might have, or might not have, made targets for our attacks. In other words, we had to build up a grand strategy. Our ultimate goal might have been identical with what the statement quoted above alleged, however, we could not afford to give arms into the hands of the Communists so that they could shoot us, and prove that our efforts at liberalizing Communism were actually nothing else but what the Communists would consider treason and conspiracy and the violent overthrow of their regime."

Here is respondent's answer to a probe of what he knew of the Hungarian National Council, or rather what his opinion of what the Hungarian National Council was:

"It was extremely hard to form an opinion."

B. 2. Respondent talked at length about the AC and the Assembly of Captive European Nations and also about the Hungarian National Council, so we go over to the MHBK.

Respondent has never heard of the MHBK back in Hungary, only since he left Hungary.

Respondent recalls having heard the name of the Liberal Democratic Union but he doesn't recall having heard anything else.

Respondent says that he heard about the Christian Democratic Union, and that the name of Monsignorbut he doesn't recall having known much more about the Christian Democratic Union.

Respondent says that he knew of the existence of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in exile, and he heard a few times mentioned over Radio Free Europe that this organization made some declaration, or rather declarations.

When respondent is asked about his opinion of these organizations, he says that he ~~thinks~~ thought their existence is necessary, and he wished that their activities were more coordinated, and that news about their activities would be given through the RFE much more systematically. Respondent explains that the role of these various organizations made the impression upon him that they were more concerned with hickering than with the real great issues, that they played the game of competition too eagerly.

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XVIII/11x K.

Asked about the International Peasant Union, respondent has this to say: "I had more detailed knowledge on the International Peasant Union than most people in Hungary, but this was due to the fact that I had several friends among them. Correspondence with them - even though not regular- still gave me a chance to have more knowledge about their activities than most Hungarians had." When this interviewer asks respondent whether he was not afraid of carrying on correspondence with his friends, respondent answers: "In fact, their correspondence was very careful, and it was usually in the cloak of neutral and indifferent themes and topics."

About the American Hungarian Federation, respondent says: "There was certain news which we received about the existence and the activities of this highly respected, old American institution."

These are respondent's remarks on his knowledge of "Latohatar": "My friends and I knew most about "Latohatar" - because I think that the copies of "Latohatar" were the only publications edited by exiles which were piercing the iron curtain."

At a probe, respondent replies: "These publications did not come in by regular mail, but they were sent to Hungary through secret channels byand..... editors and publishers of "Latohatar". I read two full issues of "Latohatar" and I must say that I liked them very much, and perhaps because they knew that copies of "Latohatar" were coming into Hungary; but whatever the reason, the Communist press wrote on a few occasions in "Latohatar". On one such an occasion an article was written byGudskov (/). Most of his articles consisted of an attack on "Latohatar"; but most of his attack was directed at questions on matters of rhythm and rhymes, of poems that appeared in "Latohatar". I remember well that he wrote about the poems of Gudskov labeled these poems outmoded and old-fashioned. Another article written, whose author I no longer remember also attacked "Latohatar", but was forced, at the same time, to admit that "Latohatar"'s ideas were rational and reflected much more common sense than the publications made elsewhere by exiles. This second article I am referring to appeared about four or five days after ...Gudskov's article was written. Now, because of these two articles mentioned and because of several copies of "Latohatar" that were given hand-to-hand in our friend's circle, "Latohatar" was somewhat known - known certainly more than any other exile publication. I think "Latohatar" is excellently edited, and its contents rich and good. I like particularly the basic tenets of their editorial policy; namely, that they give space to various opinions. The

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XVIII/ 11x L.

contributors range from ~~M.....~~ on the right, and to Bourbon on the left. As far as I know they have only one criterion for accepting an article and that's a high standard - a high intellectual and moral standard of the article. And indeed, I must say that there are articles of a high standard. I would like to add the following to this statement. At the Strasburg Conference, I suggested upon the occasion of founding the National Representation of a free Hungary, that is to say as we named it at that time, the Revolutionary Council, well I suggested that we send a telegram of recommendation to ... "Lathater" because of its democratic and exemplary democratic attitude. My motion was carried by a large majority, and I was very gratified that I was able to do this."

Respondent has never, absolutely never, heard of high schools in Bauachlotzand Lindenberg. "neither in Hungary nor in his exile."

Individuals:

Monsignor Bela Varga "Unfortunately the opinion which I have now ~~and~~ is so strongly colored by my recent experiences here in exile that I am afraid that I cannot distinguish what views I held back in Hungary and what are views of mine which ~~were shaped recently~~ which were shaped recently. Therefore please allow me not to answer this question."

Respondent has the same request in the case of ~~Sumardog~~ Ferenc Nagy.

Tibor Eckhardt: "Tibor Eckhardt's name back in Hungary is very good. Let me tell you why. Because people know very little Tibor Eckhardt's role in his exile. His political role in exile is very little known in Hungary. He is still registered in people's mind in Hungary as a leader of small farmers. He's remembered as a politician in the opposition, whose name is closely associated with the strivings of Hungarian peasantry to gain independence by gaining land. He's thought of as somebody whose democratic ~~attitude~~ attitude is flawless. People are under the impression that this man demonstrated his great opposition to right wing policies because he left Hungary and went into exile. During a regime which was not even pro-Nazi yet, but was somewhat right wing, it was certainly not extreme right. But Tibor Eckhardt was so strongly opposed to that government that he chose exile, and he preferred the US as the country of freedom to that Hungary. I was profoundly shocked and

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so were several of my friends when we came to this country and saw here and Eckhardt and found that his activities are not at all on the same line as he has been remembered in Hungary. Above all, his more than cordial association with the MHBK, that extreme right organization. The role that he has played in exile is something that can be termed arch-conservative."

Paul Auer: "I had the opportunity to carry long and very elaborate conversations with Paul Auer during my stay in Paris, after I fled from Hungary. My impressions gained in the course of those conversations are truly mixed up with my knowledge and impressions that I had back in Hungary, but I will try to separate the two. My friends and I had a pretty high opinion of Paul Auer; this fact is due mainly to his having gone into exile under circumstances which are above reproach. As you may know, he chose exile when he was Ambassador of Hungary in France. Choosing of exile of Ambassadors of Hungary were mostly under circumstances which blurred the picture and which did not leave us under the impression that those people were completely above reproach. In most, or at least in numerous cases, there were some mix-ups of economic nature and sometimes the Treasury of the Ambassies were not left intact when an Ambassador chose exile. Paul Auer wrote a letter to the Premier of the country at that time in which he expressed in a gentleman-like manner why he was no more able, morally, to function as the Ambassador of Hungary. At the same time, he handed over the Treasury of the Embassy and all the keys in a gentleman-like fashion. The high decoration he received from the French Government, namely the Commander's Cross of the Legion of Honor, also contributed to his high standing in our opinion in Hungary. The way he is judged favorably, is also influenced by the fact that he stood aloof from exile Party bickerings and political confusions."

Imre Kovacs: "I must admit that I am biased when it comes to speaking of Imre Kovacs. I have always considered him somewhat of an ideal, particularly in political matters. I am not completely concurring with his exact political line - his peasant radicalism - what I am really admiring is his political attitude, his blameless record on the political forum. When still when very young, he made his debut on the political scene by his book.....(Mite Revolution). The segment of Hungarian youth which I was a member in those years was very deeply

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XVIII/11x N.

impressed by this book, and its way of thinking was greatly influenced by this. Imre Kovacs's ^{book} was greatly instrumental in directing our attention to social and economic problems, and basic political problems of the country. Imre Kovacs was kicked out from the University because of his book, and this fact enhanced the impression he made by his writing. His later role as a newspaper man, and as an author of several other books drew a picture in my eyes, and in the eyes of many of my friends - a picture of a sociologist whose attitude toward the basic problems of the nation is that of clear-vision and profound dedication. Unquestionably, Imre Kovacs was much more emotional in his approach than, take for instance, Ferenc A....., whose similar activities were carried out almost ~~xxxx~~ void of emotions. But Imre Kovacs stood as far as personal character is concerned, so much higher than that of Aday..... whose desire to make a high career in public life became stronger than any of his other motives.joined the camp of the Communists as a collaborator and a fellow-traveler. Imre Kovacs, on the other hand, stood very far on the left during German occupation, but after 1945, when German occupation was over, he stood quite close to the hearts and minds of people and he was able to sense their desires. In the beginning, his attitude toward his fellow so-called folk-writers was too critical. In fact, he turned completely against the so-called third-side group of the folk-writers, to which the ~~was~~ most devoted and most sensible writers belonged and to which ~~gave~~ the Student Unity Movement gave its support. I remember well Imre Kovacs first article written against this group to which I also belonged, of course, both as a member of the Student Unity Movement and as an individual. He wrote it, perhaps, in January or February of 1945. Kovacs names in his article,,, He accuses these writers of not having given 100% support to the resistance movement, and of having drawn up the dangers of the left wing. I had the opportunity to listen to one of his major election speeches in 1946, and in that speech, Kovacs again mentioned.....,, and..... and he cited them as intellectual greatneses in Hungarian life to whom everyone should listen and who should play an important role. Imre Kovacs had a very common double role in the Peasant Party where he was the other pole, opposed to Ferenc Nagy. Imre Kovacs and the group around him, left the Peasant Party when they saw that they couldn't carry their point, and in the

1947 elections, they ran as opposition, whereas the Peasant Party was included in the government coalition. When Imre Kovacs recognized that he was no longer able to carry on as he thought it was ideal, he threw the consequences and he fled abroad where he tried to represent the same policies and serve the same ideals as before. For quite sometime, he was rather a factory worker than to advocate other policies than the ones that corresponded to his ideals. In those years, the Free Europe Committee had a narrower vision than later, and it was not ready to give Imre Kovacs a job. As a factory worker, Imre Kovacs sacrificed his nights to write his book "Ninety and Nine", and he had a very hard time to publish it. Ever since he has been a devoted worker in the research department of the Free Europe Committee, where he registers things, events, etc. in a ~~max~~ well-ordered systematic way. This man sticks to the facts, and he does not just speak out when he doesn't know things very well, but just says a name that is of any weight in Hungarian public life and he will take out a card and tell you about it. All of these facts certainly make ~~to the person of~~ Imre Kovacs very attractive to me and I'm in sympathy with his political concept and his plans. In conclusion, I may say that carrying out a longer conversation with Imre Kovacs, I usually leave with the feeling that I have been able to feed myself with the morsels I picked up in the course of our conversation." At a probe, whether Imre Kovacs is a Marxist, respondent answers: "Imre Kovacs is anything but a Marxist. He was the furthest on the left in 1943, and '44 and at that time he was fighting like you and I did against Nazism. Later, when he turned against Communism, he was much ~~less~~ less on the left than on the right. As far as these expression can of course designate someone's political stand well enough." When respondent is asked how he can explain the role Imre Kovacs in influencing the students of the so-called (Dormitory) he says; "It is true that Imre Kovacs held many lectures in '43 and '44 in the and it is also true that a number of leading Communists came out of the..... but I think it is also significant that all those whom I can recall of having become real Communists from the Dorf.....students, all turned their backs to Imre Kovacs when they became completely associated with Communism. I think Imre Kovacs is one of the most outstanding figures among Hungarian exiles and he has a great political concept. He is eminently qualified, with just

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a few exiles together, to play a leading role among the exiles. I think in the event Hungary will be liberated, Imre Kovacs would have to have a leading role- a leading role in a democratic Hungary for which you and I and so many of us have fought for so many years."

Imre Sellig: "His personal record is flawless. His political role in Hungary has won him a good reputation and great respect. As a representative of the Social Democratic Party from ...Pest, he was in a very close contact with the workers. As one of the leaders of the right wing of the Socialist Party, he wielded as much influence upon the shaping of the policies in Hungary. The manifesto of the right wing of the Socialist Party, which was usually thought of as something for which he was mainly responsible was clear and admirable stand, against the left wing of the Socialist Party which was mainly represented by people from the The Lib....varian group demanded the closed cooperation with the Communist Party. Imre Sellig was forced to chose exile and here his attitude continues to reflect his original stand. The only difficulty in connection with his person is that ~~hardly~~ his way of thinking is unbelievably rigid. He is unable to execute flexible policies in serving the ultimate goal. His rigidity often causes him to take a stand which is very unfavorable to him as well as to the Socialist Party."

At interviewer's probe whether respondent means by 'rigidity' and ideological dogmatism, he answers: "No, I don't mean that. I am confident that Imre Sellig who has every opportunity to observe the thinking and the workings of the English Labor Party in England is not a dogmatist in ideological matters. I'm rather referring to his rigidity in political manoeuvring (I mean manoeuvring in the good sense of the word). He has directed fire, very often, against those, who, within the Socialist Party have a different approach to solving problems, ~~unlike~~ than he himself. Take, for instance the followers of Charles ~~Robert~~ Peyer. Imre Sellig should rather lead his attack on the real enemies of democracy and should not exhaust himself by fights within the Party. Unfortunately, he is willing to drop people completely because of personal incompatibility."

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XVIII/12 x Q.

Charles Peyer: "He was an outstanding leading figure of Hungarian Socialism. Socialism in the right sense of the word, not influenced by Communist. His significance is pretty well known. Unfortunately I know very little of his activities in exile. Since, when I arrived abroad, he was by then dead."

Lasslo Taubinger: "I don't think a darn thing about him. I infact regret seeing him in such a list of more or less outstanding leaders. Although I do not know him personally, I have received some extensive ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ reports on his activities in Vienna, that I have developed in my mind a picture of a man who as representative of the Hungarian National Council in Vienna uses the considerable financial means at his disposal according to his ideological sympathies, or the lack of such."

I heard many complete reports from reliable acquaintances and friends about his less than commendable activities in Vienna. Taubinger worked in close cooperation with Bela [redacted] in Vienna. They distributed financial aids in form of gifts of money, clothing, and people were required to have certain political views so as to be given support." At a probe what ideological stand people had to take, respondent answers: "It was identifying themselves with a feudalist Hungary. Upon the basis of such political stand, they screened the people whom they found worthwhile of support. Take for instance, the example of..... had to be spoken of as "Your Excellency", and according to information available to me Taubinger had a similar attitude."

Miklos Kallay: "When he was a Prime Minister of Hungary, I evaluated his activities as such completely devoted to keeping and saving as much independence of Hungary as possible under given circumstances. His foreign policy which was called the "Kallay Two-Steps to Both Sides"(interviewer's note: this is the name of a Hungarian folk dance in which the dancing couples make two steps to the right and two steps to the left and this name happens to be called after a Hungarian town, Carlo....., and the name of this dance was to serve and designate the policy of Kallay in which tried to appear friendly to German leaders and at the same time do everything to play into the hands of the Western Allies). While that foreign policy was still the best under those given circumstances which were tragic enough, how Kallay actually felt, and what his actual aim was was clearly demonstrated by the fact that when the German invasion seized Hungary in March, 1944, Kallay was among the very first whom they sought to capture, together with

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XVIII/ 12 x R.

Kallay's Minister of the InteriorAccording to information available to me here in exile, and according to my first conversation with him in recent days he is assessing very well Hungary's present situation. It is my feeling that he knows not only the news coming up from Hungary and written about Hungary, but that he is well informed on the inner atmosphere of the Hungarian people. He seems to be well informed about and to sense well the common sentiment of the Hungarian people. He seems to know what makes them tick at the very moment. Just above, I tried to draw a picture of Tiber Eckhardt of whom I had to change my views when I came to exile, and now in comparison, I have to do the same in the case of Kallay. Kallay's name symbolized in the last eight or ten years in Hungary the Horthy-Hungary. He is pictured a reactionary who would like to turn the clock back and everything look like the Hungary of the Horthy era. This, however, is not true if my impressions which I made out of the conversation of which you were also a part. You will also remember that he clearly advocated democracy at its best. As you know, he gave voice to his sentiments in fully accepting Hungarian land reform, and he spoke out in favor of a broad representation in representative democracy of the future. I like all of this very much in him, and I am very gladly surprised."

Koltan Pfeiffer:"He is one of the most talented politicians of the Hungarian exile who works with great political sense and tremendous energies and particularly with the abilities of a very capable debater. He was renowned for this exceptional ability of his in Hungary in his role in the Parliament. On the negative side, I may mention that probably he is turning his arms toward too many aims when it would not be necessary, but such are political manoeuvrings in exile which are quite general about other members of the older political exiles. His saying became quite famous which states that in exile everybody deteriorates to his actual standards which he might hide otherwise. Now I should venture to say that this saying is true about him as well as about others."

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Asked how respondent felt about Zoltan Pfeiffer when he was in Hungary, respondent answers: "He was widely reknowned for his political role while he was in Hungary. We knew very little of his activities in exile. We knew that he was for a while chief editor of the Amerikai Magyar Nepszava, and that he was a member and is still a member of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council. That was about all we knew of his activities in exile."

Istvan Barankovics: "He is one of the best prepared and most reknowned figures of ~~Catholic~~ Catholic - that is to sy, Christian Democratic policies. His exceptional theological knowledge, which surpasses that of a great many well-educated priests - his outlook on life, which is based on a profound, philosophical knowledge, predestined him to take a position like he did in Hungary when he was the leader of the largest and strongest opposition party. Unfortunately, I have not had the experience to know him personally; consequently, I cannot form a personal opinion about his personal values. Information I received second hand - that is to say which were first hand but when they arrived at me became second-hand, seemed to indicate that he is too passive a person, too much of a meditator who is more versed in profound philosophical questions but in actual practical, political life his attitude and behavior leaves something to criticize because he seems not to be able to translate those tenets in which he believes to practical life. ~~As a criticism~~ As a criticism it may also be mentioned that during his several years in exile, he still has not managed acquire command of the English language, which is certainly something deplorable in the case of an intellectual who has so much of an education as he." Probed as to what people thought of him back in Hungary and particularly what respondent thought of him, here is his answer: "At home I knew that he was also a member of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council, but I think I read one of his articles in one of the issues of Lathatar which I happened to get in my hands in Hungary."

Mssr. Josef Kozsi-Horvath: "I know of Kozsi-Horvath that he is the chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, and thus he has a serious role in the politics of the Christian Democratic Parties. A great many people in Hungary think very much of the Christian Democratic Parties, and their political concept, particularly because

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it seems that only parties which have firm ideological foundation have a future at all, and this ideological foundation for parties is given in all significant European countries. Thus, Hungary needs such a party even if for nothing else than to keep up very good neighborly relations with other countries, and their intellectual and political life. As a person participating in such momentous movements, Msgr. Kozi-Horvath has a personality with which we have to reckon very seriously. As a spot in his record the alleged fact is mentioned that allegedly when he was a member of Parliament in Hungary, he greeted as an M.P. Ferenc Szalasi when he was installed. If this alleged fact is really true, of course it blurs somewhat the favorable picture of this politician, but I have not been able yet to check on the truthfulness of this allegation." Asked whether such actions committed more than a decade ago still count much in evaluating somebody, respondent answers: "Everybody is responsible to an extent for his political behaviour; whether that behaviour was toward the Russians or toward Szalasi. Unquestionably, after a while such action is they are not too serious become faded and their importance is slackening. If somebody's later actions and his entire attitude proves that his ideology and his overall political behaviour is quite contrary to the ideology of which he is accused to be an ~~independent~~ adherent because of one insignificant action of his will in such case, of course, cannot generally be held against him. But such matters have to be cleared by talking them over very well, and particularly the persons concerned should find opportunity for making very clear statements as to their stands, so that the thorns which are in some people because of such remembrances be pulled out."

Bela Fabian: "He was looked upon in Hungary as one of the outstanding leaders of the Liberal wing in the political picture. We knew of him, even in Hungary, that he is one of the motors behind public demonstrations, and other moves which keep the Hungarian cause on the surface and in the focus of interest of many people, like picketing in front of the U.N. building. He is a very movable person, but many people hold

that he doesn't have a broad political concept and he is very good, only, at carrying out practical and political steps and manoeuvres and that he is almost indispensable in such."

General Zako: He was one of the generals of Szalasi. Even in Hungary his name was pretty well known to many people, but the news which was circulating in Hungary was not believed by me because I thought they were only part of the lies the Communists perpetrated in their propaganda. However, when I got to Austria, unfortunately I had to find out that this news does have some foundation - the allegations have some foundations.

General Zako as the Chief of the intelligentzia services of several Western agencies did not function in this capacity of his with the circumspect, carefulness which would have been so essential in such a position. We heard numerous well-documented cases in which he sent home inscrupulously, carelessly, people, to Hungary as part of an intelligence service and these people were captured because their trips were not well-prepared, and because they were not well-trained. This behaviour of General Zako demoralized the large group who felt that they were mixed up with adventures which were not worthy of the , or at least of a number of persons who were grouping around General Zako. General Zako's significance was greatly enhanced by the fact that there was at least until recently a number of officers around him, and that a number amounted to a close knit organization. This, with the help of this organization, he managed to impress several Hungarian politicians who are in exile - who fled to exile years ago and who were anxious to see also a military background to their dreams and they meant to discover "Army" in the people assembled around General Zako, or at least they appeared to have given thought to regarding this group around Zako as a possibility for a military organization in a coming development, in which they meant to play a major part. Zako, however, absorted in the long run most of these politicians and he managed to carry his point. He managed to subdue all the other political concepts. He did all of this while

concept and political plans which I share, to ~~an~~ extent at least. As one of the inner friends of Paul Teleki, and as a person ~~known~~ known for his feeling quite close to the so-called village explorers and so-called folk-writers, and as a leader who was always for high ideals and high moral values and intellectual awakenings of youth - as one who introduced a completely new spirit and new atmosphere to the Hungarian academy of officers, I sympathized with him in Hungary very much, but I unfortunately I cannot say the same about his activities in exile. The fact that he planned in Austria, years ago, that he would let himself be elected by a number of people here in exile to become the future Regent of Hungary and the Regent ~~in~~ in exile and also the fact that he surrounded himself in exile by almost exclusively military people, and the fact that the military people influenced his way of thinking, and that he changed his attitude in several points since leaving Hungary - well, these facts have persuaded me that I will have to assume a more critical and reserved attitude toward him, and in fact, toward every military leader who lacks sufficient political education and ideological training and foundation. I am afraid of political leaders, well-meaning as they may be, who change their political views according to the current situation."

Otto of Hapsburg: "Of course, he is well renowned even at home in Hungary as one of the person of the Hapsburg dynasty who is slated by certain circles to become king of Hungary. I had the same opinion about Otto at home and as I hold now, and it is reaffirmed now by additional information. It is briefly, the following: he is a surprisingly enlightened person of good education who has a surprisingly broad horizon. It appears that the role which is slated for him by a number of people, namely: to become king of Hungary, is actually strange to him. According to information recently received by me, his stand in this matter is that he would like to return eventually

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to an independent Hungary as a professor at a University."

Respondent answers to a probe as to whether he still recalls a conversation between him and other members of the National Representation of Free Hungary, and this interviewer in the course of which this interviewer suggested that Otto should be permitted to go back to Hungary as a private person, and have the same, but not more, and not less, political rights as a private person, and whether he still agrees with this view, and respondent answers:

"It is my opinion that no circumstances could prevent the leaders of Hungary to give such permission to Otto. I don't think his personality would cause any trouble in Hungary. Of course, in case he would like to change his attitude and if he would think that he ought to help the movement, which according to my recent information he does not identify himself with - namely, the so-called "legitimism"; if he thinks that he ought to head it, he would have only one chance to proceed, but after he has been granted Hungarian citizenship that he run in the course of a parliamentary election and be elected just like any other private citizen in Hungary, ~~with~~ with the Royalist program."

Admiral Horthy: "The Regent of the Hungary between the two world wars was the symbol of that Hungary. This admiral who spoke not even perfect Hungarian had a great many shortcomings, just as the entire ruling class of this Hungary between the two world wars. But it must be admitted that they were not ~~so greedy~~ too greedy people. The fact that most of these people carried out political activities as a hobby gave a good opportunity for many people to form their independent opinions and to take an independent stand. It gave many of us an opportunity to discuss things freely and to develop an intellectual movement. Even in the Student Unity Movement you will recall you and I and our great many co-workers had a good opportunity to fight for what we believed to be right, namely, pure democracy. At the same time, I must say that Horthy's name is connected with such an unfortunate development which is remembered often in a joking way as a kingless kingdom. It was quite funny for him to ~~uphold~~ uphold the idea of such a development. . . he was of all who faced the King Karoly in a battle. There were a lot of contradictions in his

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entire regime, and I think it was most characterized by great inner contradictions - not only the fact that he was as an Admiral, Regent of a country which had no sea at all, which served rather for a joke - but I mean serious contradictions. Serious ones, like advocating great social progress and at the same time, keeping up a system which I would call a half-feudalism. Contradictions like pompous splendour of receptions of foreign dignitaries, and of notables of the country, and at the same time profound misery expressed in long queues standing in front charity organizations, distributing free dishes of soup. Discrepancies like the horse-pole ground on the Marguerite Island, or the slums of the Valeria Telep."

Asked about the people who left Hungary before 1956 - what they accomplished, or tried to accomplish, etc. this is what respondent has to say:

"The situation and the role of the Hungarians who fled before 1956 was extremely hard, and is not comparable at all to the situation of the Hungarians who fled after the revolution. Those Hungarians we speak of fled from Hungary in such times - either in the 1940's fleeing the anti-Jewish measures of pro-Nazi regimes which were forced upon Hungary by Germany understood as the Jews were who fled from concentration camps and gas chambers, etc. , still the entire world was full of such refugees and they were not afforded so much help as they ought to have been given. This was even truer about people who fled from communism in 1945, and 1944, particularly, '45. Many of these were doubtless collaborators of the Germans, but unfortunately all of them were looked upon as such ~~as those were~~ whereas there were quite a few anti-Nazi's among them, and the mass of them - the broad masses were not committed at all - simply false... the Russian troops whose reputation was just as bad as the reality which we experienced later. Since these people were discredited by an erroneous reputation that was extended to all of them they had no political possibilities at all. The exiles of 1947 and 1948, who fled when the great changes in Hungary took place and even the same possibility of exercising political rights, of establishing or maintaining a democracy ceased completely, and when numerous politicians chose the way of exile, it was only in those years that

the situation and the reputation of Hungarian exiles improved somewhat, in the free world. Still, the interest of the international politics was not focused on the matters of Hungary and on the exiles so much that they could have done something significant. The politicians who fled in '47 and '48 had a proportionate more favorable position, but even in their cases, even some of the more significant political leaders like Barankovics had to ~~immense~~ live in refugee camps for awhile, and they were not given a chance to engage in political activities which would have been necessary. A few particularly outstanding politicians like Ferenc Nagy and Zoltan Pfeiffer were favorably received, and the world of Ferenc Nagy carried some weight which was particularly important because he had been an active Prime Minister of Hungary, but on the whole there was shown a large measure of disinterest in the role of those who fled from Hungary."

The efforts are recognizable to the one who can get information on their work, but unfortunately these people directed the main force of fire not in a concentrated effort at the maneuvers in Hungary of the international political machinery, or at the Russian occupation of Hungary (the two were, of course, almost identical) but unfortunately party bickerings exhausted most of their energies. The book of Dezso Sulyok is particularly characteristic of this epoch. This book is a typical product of exile politiking. Sulyok attacks almost everyone who has been a name in exile or who has stayed at home and remained some name, somehow. He dishes up ~~the~~ mostly and in quite exaggerated presentation the negative sides of the people of whom he cares to write. This otherwise, quite talented, Sulyok, who has some concepts which have to be valued high, who in the financial field is almost indispensable as the former head of the Pénzügyeseti ~~(Központi Pénzügyintézet)~~ Központ (Central Financial Institute). The speeches he delivered in the Parliament on the budget will be exemplary for all future time, particularly because of his immense knowledge of references and his easy handling of supporting material. Yet this outstanding politician, this exceptionally talented person has narrowed himself down in shallow, personal quarrels in exile to an extent that it can be only regretted. He appears to have realized and practices the notion that every exile ~~many~~ politician is worth as ~~many~~ much as high the number of other politicians is whom he managed to push out, but by now he has found out that he was in a grave error in thinking and acting on this assumption. Namely, the

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contrary is true."

Asked ^{whether} ~~whether~~ he thought of the exiles during the revolution
respondent answers:

"Of course we thought of them, not only during the revolution but also before the revolution, when we were in prison, we often spoke about plans - how we intended to rebuilt an independent Hungary and free Hungary. In the picture we dreamed up, we certainly wished to give a serious role to the exiles, too. By giving them serious roles, of course I didn't mean us who talked about this question in prison, but I mean the entire Hungarian people who would have given assignments to anybody. We just meant to persuade as many people as we could that this is the right course of action. During the revolution, we dreamed to suggest a leadership for a liberated, independent Hungary that would consist of politically persecuted people, of such who distinguished themselves in the long fight against communism and of course such who excelled in the revolution - such who were known as experts, who politically did not compromise themselves ~~and~~ at home and certain exile leaders and experts in exile who did not essentially deviate from the line which they followed in Hungary when they fought for Hungarian democracy. During the revolution even I who was not in a position of particular importance, even I thought that we ought to get into contact immediately with leaders in ~~the~~ exile. I assigned a teaching assistant of the University, who went as one of the people in charge of a convoy which was supposed to get medicine and medical equipment from Vienna to Hungary. I assigned this teaching assistant to take a letter with him destined to reach Ferenc Nagy. In this letter I wished to report to him upon the most essential developments in Hungary and particularly on our work that prepared the construction of an independent Hungary, of an independent political Hungary, I mean. At the same time, I asked him for information in this letter, explaining what he and other exile leaders thought of their future role upon their return to Hungary. Unfortunately, the events followed in such rapid sequence that the convoy not even managed to get to Vienna. My friend managed to get it out, but by then this assignment was, of course, too late. I was also present

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who had been in the West gave the only reliable reports on what Capitalism and all the curses connected with it actually look like. The Communists were anxious to see redefectors in Hungary in as large numbers as possible ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ because of some other reasons, too. One particularly important reason was the fact that people usually were quite confidential to people who returned from the West. They were anxious to receive news and information from them through information of man-to-man talks because they thought that this people were only forced by the Communists to tell bad things about the West, and they wanted to hear with their own ears when talking privately to these persons what the real situation was. Now the Communists were aware of the phenomenon and they organized those people whom they gave good jobs to become informers. A number of such people actually turned informers and informed the AVH of the sentiment of people as revealed in such conversations and of actualy personal statements of people. Thus, redefectors served a dual purpose in the Communist game. On the one hand they became tools of Communist propoganda against the West; on the other hand, they became informers of the secret police - at least many of them."

Asked what people thought of redefection in Hungary, respondent answers:

"A considerable portion of the nation was aware of what I just said. In other words, for many people the Communist tricks in this field were transparent, and many people wrote to their relatives and friends not to return."

D. Exile tasks:

Asked what he thinks the people in Hungary would like to know about the exiles, respondent answers:

"Above all, they would like to know particularly in reference to the political exiles, what steps they have taken, and are taking to keep the Hungarian cause in the focus of the attention of the world. They wish to know how the Hungarian exiles' leaders are trying to persuade and influence international organizations and forums to put the Hungarian question again on the agenda of the UN General Assembly. They wonder whether Hungarian exile leaders are in contact

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with many governments of the free world, and whether they are asking them to keep the Hungarian question on their schedule to press the UN that it not drop it. The people in Hungary are most anxious to know that the Hungarian exiles do their utmost to persuade the West not to keep the Hungarian situation as it is; not to perpetuate the tragedy that is called Hungary as an open wound in the body of the Soviet Union. This perhaps politically expedient, "solution", for the West is horrible to the Hungarians."

"Aside from political help, the matter of economic assistance is also something that Hungarians think of. Those who were forced to flee countries, are also are expected to help the people who live on a starvation diet in Hungary. CARE packages and other shipments of charity are very important to those people, so that they can carry on a fight, for the time being, in passive resistance. Last but not least they certainly expect that the Hungarians be represented in a co-ordinated way, not split up into many, quarrelling, splinter groups, and they certainly desire that the political foundation for such unified representation be nothing less than the ideological basis of the revolution. The revolution which is the last legal source for any action in representing Hungarians."

Asked what respondent thinks the Hungarians should know, he answers: "They should know what they desire to know, and I think these things are those just enumerated."

Asked what the exiles should do now, respondent refers again to his statement made above.

Asked what he personally could do now, respondent answers: "I think I can particularly contribute to realizing our dreams at creating a Unity in Hungarian representation. Although I must emphasize that unity per se is not a self-aim - it is only a tool to realizing great ideals, and in realizing practical goals such as directing the attention of the public opinion of the world to the cause of Hungary - to the unfinished business of the UN - the urging of steps to be carried out by international forums and the powers of the free world in the interest of Hungarian independence."

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"Last but not least, the objective correct and efficient information of the Hungarian nation of events taking place in the world. Everything possible, and morally right, should be done to keep not only the Hungarians but also the other nations in bondage well-informed of the intellectual and spiritual progress of the free world. They should not be left, cut off, from the blood-stream of intellectual life of the free world. I know of myself, how profound the interest is that exists on the part of the Hungarian people to learn about the advance of the West in every area, - not only political and economic, but also intellectual areas."

Asked ~~simut~~ whether he would like to join an exile organization, respondent says:

"I would not like to belong an exile organization, but I do belong. I am a member of the National Representation of a Free Hungary, in other words - of the National Revolutionary Council - and I am also a member of the Free Fighters Federation, but perhaps is not necessary to mention because that is an integral part of the National Representation."

Asked what his opinion of the various Hungarian political parties is; respondent answers:

"Political parties in exile are good only for one purpose, I think. Namely, to build up very valuable contacts with similar organizations of the free world. It is completely unnecessary and superfluous to negotiate here and to discuss any domestic issues. Solution and discussion of Hungarian domestic issues are to be carried out only by a future Parliament which is composed of the elected representatives of the Hungarians. Only free elections in a free Hungary can decide who should represent the Hungarian people and to what extent. Here, abroad, every political party may say with the same right, its political concept and its political plans which are recognized and desired by the majority of the Hungarian people - but only a free election could decide whether it is true, or not. In spite of this the political parties in exile have a significance because the framework of the parties can give a good chance to build good and valuable contacts with similar parties abroad in exile. I am thinking particularly of European countries in this connection. Take, for instance the

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Hungarian Social Democratic Party which has a much easier way to align itself with similar socialist parties of Europe, than any other group in the Hungarian exile parties. A Christian Democratic Party has a much better chance even in exile to align itself with similar Christian Democratic Parties than any other group in the Hungarian nation. I have practical experiences that such contacts work very well. Take, for instance, a case where I was admitted to the Minister President of France upon my request almost immediately because my Socialist friends asked him to grant such an audience. I received appointment within two hours which could not have been realized in any other way -not within day certainly. I may quote similar examples in which Christian Democratic friends of mine helped me to see some outstanding statesman on some important and urgent issue. But the policies of these exile political parties should be coordinated and the frameworks of parties ~~would~~ should be kept in tact above all for establishing good friendly relations with parties in other countries."

E. Plans for the Future:

Asked whether respondent would like to return to Hungary, he answers:

"Of course, I want to return to free Hungary all the more since I never wanted to leave Hungary. My return to Hungary will take place right at the moment that Hungary will have a government which will be based on free elections, or at least a government which guarantees free elections in the foreseeable future."

Asked whether respondent would like to see his children speak also Hungarian in the US, he answers:

"By all means, of course."

A. Radio

Asked to comment on what radio stations respondent listened to in Hungary, he answers:

"To the Radio Free Europe, to the Voice of America, to the BBC, to the station in Paris and to that one in the Vatican."

Asked whether to his own or to that of other's, respondent answers "Both - to both -" and whether alone or sometimes with others, respondent says: "Sometimes alone but mostly together with friends and certainly together with the family."

Asked about the physical circumstances of listening, measures of precaution taken, respondent says almost nothing was done in the way of precaution.

Asked why no precautionary measures were taken, respondent answers: "Listening to these foreign stations was so general in the years after I was freed from prison that was the end of '53, until the revolution, and there was so little risk involved listening to these stations that we didn't care to undertake any measures to protect ourselves. The significance of the RFE can in no way be underestimated because practically the entire nation listens to it, and I am sure that the same is true about other East European countries. It was generally known that the great majority of the nation was regularly listening to RFE, and also to the other stations of the free World."

Asked about jamming, respondent says there was a lot of jamming but if one was clever, he could catch most of the stations at wave lengths where he could listen to them allright.

Asked whether respondent preferred one station over another, he said without hesitation: "I preferred the BBC."

Asked to give his reasons for his preference, respondent answers: "I have dealt with that question already pretty much - first of all, I was the chairman of that Committee in Strasburg which was given the assignment to investigate the work of the foreign radio stations, and I was invited to the Radio Free Europe in Munich to discuss these matters. For ten days it was my major job to talk over things concerning the broadcasts of RFE and other foreign radio stations. I could say a lot of things but nothing new, nothing that I had not told in Munich. I am referring mainly to my talks with Mr. Griffith."

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XIX/15x B.

When this interviewer insists upon respondent telling something of his criticism he offers the following:

"Speaking of Radio Free Europe its significance is inestimable because practically speaking everyone listens to it, but there was at least a period of time when all those who listened, or practically all those who listened to the RFE listened somewhat angrily. ..even here in the free world, we criticise broadcasts of the RFE we do not mean to attack it, but we mean to help so that the broadcasts of the RFE become so efficient and so objective and reliable that it could serve the ~~the~~ common cause much better. One of the greatest faults of the RFE was that in pre-revolutionary times the RFE broadcasts became static, by "static" I mean that RFE thought and spoke on the lines which were correct in 1951, but meanwhile great events happened in Hungary. There was for instance the government of Imre Nagy, and there was a liberalizing process and there were the discussions of the Petofic Circle, and there were the news items and the articles of the IROLDALMI UJSAG. In a great many cases these factors were evaluated by the RFE in a manner which ~~was not~~ basically held that these developments are insignificant. They thought that Moscow gave permission to various groups of really Communist journalists and other intellectuals to speak somewhat freer but still not deviating from the essential Moscow line. A few moments ago, I mentioned the "static" character of RFE broadcasts. Let me add in this connection that this ~~recognition~~ recognition didn't dawn on the people in charge of broadcasts of RFE. Namely, that real, actual forces were at work in Hungary behind the phenomena just mentioned, and they ought to have realized that all of these developments were spontaneous and certainly not directed from Moscow. The popular movement which demanded the democratization and liberalization of the country was in no way connected with Moscow or Communism. There were Communists, thank God, among the people who were at work, but those were disappointed, idealist Communists. Unfortunately RFE did not recognize this fact. There are quite a few people in Munich at the Hungarian desk of RFE who are kept abreast of developments in Hungary because they have the daily information well furnished; still, it seems that they lacked the sense of understanding what is behind all the events in Hungary, and they seemed not to realize the importance of these developments. The lack of this recognition was responsible for the fact that the Munich-Hungarian desk opened fire in several cases on people and on events which certainly did not deserve their attack and which proved to be more than unwise. I am referring above all to the

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person of Imre Nagy who was attacked on many occasions. Even in '53 and 1954, it was strategically, perhaps, understandable, but not everybody was able to understand it in Hungary that the Minister President who introduced liberalization in Hungary should be a target of attacks by RFE. After all, under the given circumstances, Imre Nagy moved in a positive direction, but this was ~~waxdy~~ not nearly as significant as the attacks of the RFE on Imre Nagy during the revolution. Those attacks are, indeed, inexcusable, and completely deplorable. Those attacks met with the general rejection of the Hungarian people who participated in the uprising. After all it was Imre Nagy who symbolized the will of the nation, and certainly there was no other person to be found who could have united the nation as one person who expressed cautiously and ~~ix~~ slowly indeed but still expressed its wish, and demonstrate at the same time toward the Communists and toward Moscow that one from their ranks sided with the Hungarian people and with the Hungarian nation. Those who could half-way appreciate the magnitude of those difficulties under which Imre Nagy had to work certainly resented very much those attacks.

"Another basic mistake of RFE, was that it was an inspiritive type of radio. It ought to have been an informative type of radio instead. It inspired people to take certain actions although these actions were actually not worded but still those broadcasts had an atmosphere which were too indicative in a great many cases. Many of the broadcasts were suggestive in their tone that people were led to think more of Western intentions than there were actually in reality in Western governments. Take, for instance, the statements and declarations of policy of leaders of Western nations or solemn statements of leaders in exile. There were, for instance, numerous statements by Eisenhower and by Dulles which evoked very real hope in the minds and hearts of the Hungarians. RFE dished up all these statements in an overtly emphasized way. It is true that the quotations were verbatim but still on the basis of emphasis and the basis of commentaries RFE made, people were seduced to imagine more and to think much more than was actually meant by these statements. RFE unfortunately omitted to reduce these statements to their actual significance and meaning by its commentaries. Above all, RFE ought to have emphasized that these declarations of policies and these solemn statements made by American statesmen were meant for home consumption to serve the winning over of the millions of voters in the US who were of Eastern European origin, particularly ~~for~~ before or in the wake of election campaigns."

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XIX/ 15 x, 16 x. D.

Asked whether Western broadcasts and Radio Free Europe in particular helped to incite the Hungarian people by holding out promises of Western help to rise in a revolution, respondent answers:
"Radio Free Europe contributed in no way to the uprising of the Hungarian revolution."

Probed whether respondent does not think that RFE saturated Hungarian feelings and contributed to exciting them that way even though not completely but that the many small effects added up to one which became incitive, respondent takes this stand:

If we word a statement like that, I may agree, but at the same time I ^{wish} ~~would~~ to emphasize that I don't mean to minimize the merits of the RFE, because its role ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ is very tremendous; it's inspiring news and commentaries instead of hearing only formative news and commentaries, but the revolution would have taken place - unquestionably - even without this role of RFE. The most realistic, the most objective broadcasts were those of the BBC - objective, reliable information upon Hungary in the world - on international events in general. They had to turn to the broadcasts of the BBC which discussed all of these aspects of the world and of Hungary in a cool and informative way. Nobody was able to make illusions about things on the basis of the broadcasts of BBC. The BBC relayed its program only in a portion of the day, not throughout the day as did RFE; still, it was able to make itself so understood by the Hungarian people as they meant to convey their messages. It gave them very realistic information - even in its brief broadcasts, it found time to give information on the elements of the technological, and of the intellectual world. Of the scientific world in general and all news were highly appreciated by the Hungarians in general. They also gave information on developments in the world of literature, and these were also liked by the people. It spoke about books which had world significance and which aroused interest in free countries of the world. Those were books, of course, which were not permitted to reach the Hungarian reading public."

Asked about the radio stations, respondent has this to say:
"The Voice of America used a method of general oversimplification, I had the feeling- perhaps I am too strict to say but I am inclined to word my opinion in the following and certainly daring way. The VOA was inclined to evaluate events and persons in a way somewhat similar to Stalinism, but of course ~~xxxx~~ in the other direction. By this, I mean the following - according to Stalinism people were judged in the following way - whoever is a Communist, is a great guy, is a wonderful

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fellow, and is completely unobjectionable and his integrity may not be questioned. Whoever is a non-communist is a bum, a scoundrel, a no-good and good for nothing fellow. The VOA turned this way of looking at things around, and it evaluated events and people in a similar fashion, but, of course, in the other direction. This black and white presentation was a basic mistake of the VOA."

Asked whether RFE should continue its broadcasts, respondent says that it certainly should, but in a greatly improved way.

Asked what these improvements should be, respondent answers:
" It has to transmit of course the essential news about the great political events of the world. It has to evaluate events very realistically and should always find a way to put the Hungarian matters also in the framework of your politics and should be just as realistic about Hungarian events as about anything else in the world. At least, things should not be overemphasised as they have been in the past. It is not permissible to do anything else but a very little editing, so that people do not grow completely desperate. But editing in a way as it has been practiced, as we are able to evaluate it now -that is completely deplorable - should be avoided in the future. Beside from this program, other programs like those in the BBC should be given. "

Asked whether programs about life in Western Europe and about life in the United States should also be included, respondent answers "by all means".

Asked what other programs should be included in a broadcast of RFE, respondent suggests:
"I am anxious to suggest that news items and information on cultural life should be included, and I think that the young generation and even the old generation knows so little of the realistic picture of Hungarian history that such should also be put on the program, but very carefully- in a way that not only Hungarian intellectuals should be interested in it, but that the broad masses of the population could enjoy those broadcasts telling about chapters in the past of Hungary; perhaps dramatized historical things would be particularly appreciated, and I think that historical events of the latest decades, and of the last century should be particularly emphasised. The immediate past is of prime importance for them to know - particularly an objective view of the events between the two world wars, and during the last world war."

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"And I mean to emphasize above all that the tremendous force and significance of the Hungarian revolution should be utilized even more, and even much more in the broadcasts of RFE. Take, for instance, the immense material that RFE collected from the broadcasts of the Hungarian radio stations during the days of the revolution, and the many issues of the Hungarian papers that appeared during the revolution, and other material of documentation - particularly anniversaries and events connected with certain persons should be utilized for refreshing memories of people and I am referring particularly to speeches made by leaders in the revolution on the Communist and on the ~~anti-Communist~~ and democratic side. - speeches of such Hungarian leaders who have been executed since, or who are right now in prison, or who are now in leading positions - for instance, Kadar himself. The broadcasts of such speeches could have a profound effect in Hungary. In fact, it could have ~~un~~estimable consequences to listen to Kadar, of how he spoke in favor of the revolution while the revolution was on and victorious. Articles also which appeared during the revolution could be read and that would be tremendously appreciated by the Hungarians and it could have a shocking effect. At the same time, it would be an interesting program for RFE to let the nation hear again the various and quite opposing stands of Communist leaders in delicate questions. Take for instance the most delicate questions of Yugoslavia. It would be very good and would serve a very good purpose to let the nation listen to various stands of Hungarian Communist leaders taken in the Yugoslav question and various times. No commentaries will be necessary or very little, if any, because those speeches will speak for themselves, and those articles written by leading communists. To show opinions when they are they are on very good terms with each other, and then when they are at a cold war. And again, when the Hungarian Communist leaders called Tito a ~~xxxx~~ "chained dog" and a "satellite of the imperialists." Again, when they promise eternal friendship and praise each other, and again when there is something in between...thus following the lines of very remarkably changing policy on the part of Communist leadership, would be very valuable."

"Another valuable of RFE could be to compose the biographies of various leaders of the AVO, particularly of such who have already met death or another. That could even have the effect of a grim reminder to the other members of the AVO. These, and other similar possibilities open unlimited vistas to the RFE. Cold facts - realistic pictures are the ones that could have the most profound effect and which people would be ready to accept without hesitation because they would get used to experiencing that RFE is not propagandizing but giving the accurate data and figures."

B. FEP leaflets:

Respondent explains that he knew the initials N.E.M. and he knew what they stood for. He also knew of the Baloon Campaign, but he didn't know any details, particularly not technical details. He explains:

" There was only one aspect in which I found the campaign carried out with the balloons successful. Namely, it kept the AVO occupied. The search for and the picking up of the balloons and the leaflets took quite a bit of effort and time on the part of the AVO, but otherwise these leaflets had no particular effects at all."

Asked about the Twelve Demands, respondent has this to say:
" I wasn't familiar with the Twelve Demands. This in itself can prove to you that the leaflets did not have too great an effect, because I ought to have heard of the Twelve Demands - at least I ought to have heard of them. Of course, I was out of prison since the end of 1953, but still something should have been known to me if the Twelve Demands had played an significant role. The leaflets have incomparably smaller effect than the broadcasts; first of all, because they don't come every day. Only periodically. secondly, their timeliness suffers by the time element involved. Until they reach their destination, are picked up and read and handed over to others and talked over, the events to which they refer may have lost their significance. News items and news commentaries are, by their nature, very time-bound. These are just the main differences between leaflets and broadcasts."

D. Goals of Western groups:

Asked about his assessing what the actual goals of Western groups which are behind these broadcasts and leaflets may be, respondent had this opinion to offer:

"First of all, they are of course aimed at informing people in countries behind the iron curtain of the actual events in the world. They want to inform them in a way that reflects ~~clearly~~ the true character of Western decisions and Western actions., that is to say, the actions and intentions of the free world. And also, to inform the nations behind the iron curtain about the actions of their exile leaders, namely of such leaders who are recognized by these Western groups, and they are intent on making their own stands ^{clear} in reference to politicians and leaders who are on the opposite side. "

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Asked about the differences between the BBC, VOA and RFE, etc., respondent has this to say:

" Our other stations relayed broadcasts which are actually programs of those countries, and of those stations, which are foreign to the Hungarian people, but they were broadcasts in Hungarian language. Take for instance, the VOA says explicitly that it is the Voice of America. The only station which relays not only Hungarian language broadcasts but actually Hungarian programs is Radio Free Europe. Consequently, RFE has much greater possibilities, of which it is not making good use yet - at least, not much. RFE should assume even more character of belonging to the Hungarian people - it's Hungarian broadcast, that is to say.

"In fact, I would suggest the following: those in charge should take into consideration whether it would not be much better for Hungarian listeners if the Hungarian desk of the RFE would change at a significant time - for instance, on next October, the 23rd - to change its name from Radio Free Europe to Free Kossuth Radio. This would be a clear demonstration that this radio identifies itself with the ideals of the revolution; besides, the name itself would have a tremendous emotional effect on Hungarians. They would feel it more their own. Of course, I could not estimate how much and how favorably the tone the RFE has changed since the revolution. I have no chance to listen to the broadcasts which are related to Hungary. This is why I could not offer my opinion, but I know that immediately after the revolution, the exact opposite happened what ought to have happened, namely: the RFE was overburdened with news of personal character, messages sent by individuals which were of course necessary and were certainly appreciated by the loved ones of those individuals who let them know that they ~~xxxx~~ reached safety. But these messages took a great deal of the time of the radio; on the other hand, it is true that, and that is what I'm concerned with RFE's seemed not to have any message after the revolution. After the revolution, it was so embarrassed, I think, because of its former attacks on Imre Nagy, that after the revolution it did not even attack Kadar to a sufficient degree. Apparently the pendulum swung too much into opposite direction, and when they realized they attacked Imre Nagy too much, they refrained from attacking even Kadar. I don't know how the RFE operates of now, but when we were in Munich we certainly made it a point to criticize RFE because of this behavior."

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Child rearing and discipline:

Asked what he thinks are the most important things a child should be taught, respondent answers:

"This is a very interesting, but at the same time, a very complex question. It is right this question of child rearing and education, in which Communism lost its fight for the most important, and the dearest of all of its targets--namely, youth, and by losing youth, it lost also its future.

"I think the most important basic tenet is not to make any exceptions when dealing with youth. During the Communist era, innumerable exceptions were made. The educator was forced to carry out orders according to which he had to make a lot of exceptions. Every teacher was compelled to classify the pupils and the students according to certain categories. Category A was for sons and daughters of workers. Category B. for the sons and daughters ~~for~~ of peasants. Category C. for the children of intellectuals. Category D. for the children of employees. Category E. comprised the so-called "rest" into which belonged the independent craftsmen, artisans, merchants; and category X comprised the so-called class aliens, into which all children belonged whose parents had more than one employee, or who owned more land than 30 acres, or whose folks were civil servants during the Horthy regime. I saw it from these categories..the instructors, teachers all, had to prove that students who belonged in categories A.&.B were the best students in the school, and this was not possible in any other way than by cheating and making exceptions. This undue favoritism was offensive to those who were the victims either victims in the actual sense of the word, or those who were favored by this system. In the communities of youth, the natural sequence of values, of human values develops naturally, and among his seeks to register this naturally developed order. In brief, I think favoritism has no place in raising children or dealing with youth in any way. Another basic tenet is that the law of truth; no one dealing with children must never lie. The basic basic mistake of Communist education was just this - when children heard in school about the constantly arising living standards; about the wonderful achievements of Communist construction of a new and great world, and about the heroic deeds of Communist politicians; when children heard educators speak of Russian troops with great admiration, and rapture, the children of course compared all these

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teachings with reality which they experienced themselves or of which they heard from their folks and other acquaintances, among older people. Take, for instance, the horrible experiences people had with the Russian troops in 1945. All those experiences proved just the opposite of what children were taught. On such occasions as finding reality quite different from what he was taught in schools, the child realized that he lived in a Community in which lies were made legal. He had to say consciously lies, and those lies were legalized by the fact that he was expected and even forced to sound those lies, and he also knew that the teacher knew that he was only lying, and he was also conscious of the fact that his classmates were aware of his lying, and he realized that the assignment he had to perform was to do just this, and his classmates who refused to lie were punished, or very severely reprimanded and threatened. This equality proved in the long run unbearable to youth. Nor was the legalization of lies just this mere fact by itself bearable to youth. In addition to this, youth has an inborn - a natural revolutionary spirit. It has a strong drive for action - that it is has the right to be one or two steps ahead of the other even if these one or two steps will prove in the long run not profitable, or not right at all - and particularly to be ahead a few steps even though these steps conflict realistic assessment of the present situation. Youth has to have a chance to feel and to try out those steps by which it advances. Youth should have the right not to face everything completely realistically. One must not blame and reprimand youth if it ventures ahead. Youth must not be rebuked because of its ventures in trail-blazing. DGSZ, the only official organization of the Communist state in Hungary, became a completely hollow and gray dull organization because this ~~organization~~ organization - allegedly independent from the Party but actually directed by Party leadership - became nothing more than the sounding board of doctrines handed down from above in Party leadership and read aloud at DGSZ meetings. Meetings of the DGSZ were made possible by nothing else but by the trick that dances followed every business meeting."

"

To come to the essence of the question I was given as to what youth should be taught, I may say the following: the essential task of the schools should be not to give just a conglomeration of all kinds of data to the pupils, but to teach them to think logically and with self-discipline. The most competent and most efficient for this purpose is the humanistic type of school, where students get acquainted with the foundations of human culture upon which everything is based and by going ~~through~~ thousand times through the logical thinking processes, they learn the actual working of logical thinking; at the same time,

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an immense importance should be given to the development of character and ~~individuality~~ personality. The aim of a school system should by no means be the German ideal of a narrow minded expert - such an expert who is completely familiar with all the tasks in his own narrow domain, but is blind to the other great areas of life. The ideal of education should be a youth who has the forms of logical thinking and arriving at conclusions at his finger tips. A youth who dares, and who is equipped to brave problems heretofore unknown to him and to have the ability to solve them - that is to say to know the methods of research very well and has to have the attitude of liking research; at the same time he has to have all the character traits which distinguish him from people who are not reliable and who turn against their fellow human beings with hatred and contempt, or with sinful negligence towards the causes of the community. These are the criteria which we have to keep in mind when educating youth, or for that matter, when rearing children."

Asked how a child should be brought up, respondent answers: "First of all he has to be imbued by the desire for knowledge; secondly, he has to realize that he belongs - that he is part of a Hungarian community - toward which he has obligations and duties; he should feel that beyond the community of Hungarians he belongs to a European community and to a world community of humanity. He should feel and realize that he is an integral part of these communities; he should feel that there is no contradiction in being a good Hungarian patriot, and at the same time a good European. Being an Hungarian and part of humanity should be a harmonious realization. A child should be brought up to have a well-developed backbone and adherence to principles, and one who is not bent on taking advantage of the monetary opportunities but who is led by ideal goals ~~and who chooses~~ morally unobjectionable media to realize his goals. Every choice a person should be directed by high ideals, eternal truths which do not change and of which none has ever to feel ashamed."

Asked about how a child should be disciplined, respondent has this to offer:

"Speaking of disciplining youth and how to punish it, it is my feeling that there is a tremendous difference between blind discipline and self-discipline. Blind discipline is imposed upon a community from above; self-discipline is, at the same time, to be something that everyone imposes upon himself and which he gladly, or if not gladly, certainly, readily shoulders and of which he is convinced it is indispensable. The matter of punishment is a very delicate matter, indeed."

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Psychologists and educators in general know how many different types and degrees of such punishment are in existence, an immense array indeed which arrange from simple conversations and discussions through reprimands and on an almost endless scale. It must be determined which one is the right way one at a certain given opportunity, and under certain circumstances."

Asked what respondent thinks of physical punishment he answers:
"Physical punishments do not have a place in modern child raising and education."

Asked about the difference in treatment for boys and girls, respondent answers:

"Since I reject even the idea of physical punishment, I don't know how to make a difference between boys and girls in this respect. I don't want to see physical punishment in either case for either sex."

Asked about ways of punishing, respondent answers:

"There are innumerable kinds of punishment that can be meted out, and it is pedagogs who know their way around them. In practice, various types of punishment kind of develop in different communities of youth. I remember well how as a youth we were punished by such punishments which from the outside didn't even look like real penalties but were very significant to us."

Asked to offer an example, respondent comes up with this one:

"One of the most severe and well-remembered punishments was in my life that when I was a boy-scout, I was not allowed to carry the flag of the patrol, for ~~that~~ me this was an immensely serious punishment. An adult may smile at such things, but some body in the field of education certainly would be aware of how important such things would be for a youngster. I was usually the boy in charge of carrying of the flag of the patrol and the period of time during which I was barred from it, will always be remembered by me."

Asked for another example of being punished, respondent comes up with this story:

"When I went to school I frequented a school that was located in a suburb, the high school of Kispest (interviewers' note: "this interviewer usually translates gimnazium by high school, but actually he should translate it by saying the equivalent of our high school and junior college). There it happened that in the first four grades of gimnazium, up to our age of about 14, we occasionally received one or two slaps in the face from

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our teachers if we behaved especially bad, but such occasions were very rare- I am referring to myself and to any of my classmates."

Asked who in the family usually punished children among the people respondent knew, he answers:

"Speaking of children six years old or older, I have to state that it depended entirely upon which family it was. There were families in which the mother and other families in which the father meted out punishments; it depended upon the circumstances of the family which parent dealt more with the children."

Asked about differences according to social classes, respondent says:

"There were differences undoubtedly, and differences were mainly in the quantity of punishment. It depended ~~and~~ largely, regardless of social classes, upon which one of the two parents was more quick blooded. There were mothers, for instance, who were ready to slap children in the face at almost any moment, and there were also cases in which the children for protection went to the mother when the father wanted to hit them or to spank them."

Asked to what age of the children people among his acquaintances respondent knew did they cease to punish children, he says:

"Of course, it was not uniform, but the age limit was perhaps somewhere around the age of 15. In the case of boys, and in the case of girls it was about 13 years or so."

Asked about differences according to social classes in this connection: "Yes, there are difference. Children of workers usually became mature and conscious of their independence earlier than children of middle-class families. Thus, children of workers are not punished as long as children of intellectuals. Only the fact determines the difference how long a age goes regularly to school."

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Asked about different types of parental punishment, respondent says:

"Ways and degrees of parental punishment are also on a very wide scale. Aside from physical punishments, the kneeling of children in corners is quite frequent, and that has also variations; they may kneel on corn, or just on the plain floor - either milder punishment is just to stand in the corner. A more severe type is to be confined to the room or to the house, or the refusal of taking a child to some place where he would have liked to go - to a family which he liked, or to the movies, or for instance - it is also a punishment that usually is very impressive - to withhold a certain food or certain type of drink in which the child finds particular pleasure - cakes, or pies, for instance. Another variety of punishment is putting down once or twice, or even a great many times, that they feel sorry for having committed this or that action, and that they promise not to do it any more. Such in brief, are particularly usual punishments in Hungarian families."

Asked about techniques of discipline before Communism, respondent recalls:

"When we were children we often received hits on our palms by sticks and the same is true about receiving hits upon our fingernails (interviewer's note: his interviewer used this term on one previous occasion already, and he ought to have explained that it is only called 'hit on the fingernails' but actually it is a hit more upon the finger tips; children have to put together their five fingers in a way that the finger tips are on an even level, and it is there that the teacher hits with an elastic stick. This interviewer received also quite a few hits of this sort, and he remembers them almost as if he had received them last week.) These punishments were given almost exclusively in the first four grades of grade-school only. In these first four grades, it also happened that we had to bend down and we were spanked with sticks. (interviewer's note: these sticks were among the "hard tools" of most teachers. They bought them mostly in the same stores where they bought chalk, and other school equipment. They were very elastic-almost unbreakable cane - not hollow ones, but the type of which I don't know the name either in Hungarian or English). "In Gimnazium" we were no more spanked in our school, but there were several teachers who occasionally gave us some more or less serious slaps in the face. Some

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of our teachers, particularly one liked very much the kind of punishment that he took a portion of our hair on the two sides - that is to say he took our sideburns and he pulled them upwards. There were other punishments, not of physical nature. For instance, it was a frequent punishment that the youngster not allowed to participate in certain extra-curricular activities. As, he was kicked out from the ~~max~~ Boy Scouts troop if he was a very poor student, or he was not allowed to be a member of the soccer team of the school, or not allowed to participate regularly in athletics or activities after school. Still another kind of punishment was that ~~max~~ of written messages which were sent to the parents and were of very official character, and which reminded the parents that their child would flunk in this subject unless he improved rapidly and greatly. Such messages had further consequences in most families because most of the parents took their children to task as to why they did not study well enough so as not to receive such reminders. Such messages, indeed, served greatly the purpose to kind of transfer the task of retaliation to the parents."

Respondent claims lack of knowledge when asked what changes this system of punishments underwent during the Communist regime.

Asked what characteristics respondent finds most valuable in a friend, he answers:

"As a point of departure, I may mention that I have friends only such who have the criteria which value in them. As first among these I may mention that I want to have a "common language" with my friends, namely, I want to see that we mean by the same phrase the same thing as I do. Of course, we need not agree on a great many essential points of human life, but we need some common foundation to be able to discuss things and to be able to have even heated debates. Another point which I require from my friends, that at the same time when I never give up my friends, they should have the same attitude, ~~xxxxxx~~ I may say that my friendships are very successful and are very lasting. It is my feeling that my friendships usually protect my interests better than I myself can protect them. I have a number of very good friends with whom I have been connected for more than a decade, and it is also my feeling

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and it may be debated, but I think such friendships are of particular importance and value to people. I feel it is not worthy of a human being to live if he does not have true friends."

Asked about changes in friendship under Communism, respondent says: "Friendships in my life, at least, assumed a much greater significance than before because one needed people on whom he could count on any event, and in Communist times it was really proven that a friend in need is a friend indeed. I am proud of my friends and it belongs to the greatest sorrows of my life that recently I had to watch so many of them die - or suffer the terrible injuries for the cause for which we fought together. They are a loss, not only to me, but to the Hungarian nation and to humanity."

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