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CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent is about five feet, three or four inches tall. Of his weight, one must say that he is average and rather on the thin side. His blonde hair is thin and inconspicuously smoothed down. His eyes are grayish-blue. He has an average-shaped face; (by average I mean to say it is neither round, nor oval, nor square) there are furrows in his forehead and around his mouth, which attest to the sufferings he has gone through. There is a particularly deep furrow in the middle of his forehead coming down from his hair and going vertically toward his nose. The color of his face is more white than anything else - but one is more inclined to call his face colorless...so far as the physical tone of his skin is concerned. Speaking of a color deeper than his skin, his face certainly radiates determination and persistency and tolerance and understanding and a warmth of heart.

His bearing is erect; he walks with long, smooth steps.

He talks very calmly and is completely collected. He is always ready to, and inclined to engage in elaborate explanations and descriptions. In fact, all of his answers have the character of a very informal and well-polished lecturer. He always firmly grasps the essence - at least what he thinks is the essence - and he builds the details around his essential point.

All of my respondents were inclined (but he, perhaps particularly so) to speak in first person plural rather than singular. He is always inclined to speak in first person plural which clearly reveals that he thinks much more in terms of the community rather than in terms of himself.

This I know, not only as this fact might be considered incidental or a kind of mannerism, but from my eighteen years of experience with him.

I got acquainted with respondent when, on one occasion, the Seminary of my ethnographic and ethnological professor was on a field trip in an Hungarian village studying folk dances, folk songs, folk tales, customs, costumes, tools etc. When I founded the Student's Union Movement, Hungary's first democratic student organization, respondent became one of my very best helpers

I/P

41-4  
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CHARACTER DESCRIPTION (cont.)

pg. 2.

and associates, and friend. He wrote a number of articles in our student periodical - the first periodical written, edited and published by students and based upon basic national and serious issues - and when I organized a unique adult education course for Peasant youth leaders within the confines of our university, I selected him to head that course.

When I had to serve my term in the Hungarian Army, respondent became my successor in my capacity as vice-president of the National Student's Union Movement.

When my ~~movement~~ organization, the National Student's Union Movement became part of the anti-Nazi Resistance Movement, respondent played the most active part in developing this resistance movement. He had a leading role at both the Balatoncsanak and at the Hodmezovasarhely anti-Nazi conventions. When the Resistance Movement became Armed Resistance Movement respondent took over leadership of the remainders of the National Student Union Movement (I speak of its remainders because when the Arrow Cross Party seized power in Oct. 1944, one of its first acts was to dissolve our movement). ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Throughout all of these experiences, as well as in my experiences with respondent since we met again after the revolution here in New York, and ~~throughout~~ the experiences of mutual friends, which experiences were conveyed to me during the years in which I was not in contact with respondent, I experienced that he is a truly dedicated person - a modern-day Saint, I would be most inclined to term him - a person whose integrity is beyond reproach and who is ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ a devout Protestant and above all a profound, human personality. Not only admirer but also a follower of Ghandi and Albert Schweitzer.

He is utterly persistent and patient which is a very rare characteristic in most Hungarians, and he is resigned to suffer a great deal for his convictions and as well for the common good of all. Several of my associates in the Student Movement I spoke of above wrote with their blood that they were true to their convictions and their friends. It was only by sheer luck that respondent does not belong to those who died for human freedom and democracy. In the Armed Resistance Movement, he had an opportunity to shelter our Jewish friends somewhere else but he chose to shelter them right there where he was living, thus exposing himself to even more danger than anyone of else, including our mutual Jewish friends would have expected of him.

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41-M  
HLR

CHARACTER DESCRIPTION (cont) pg. 3.

He is most kind and cheerful under all circumstances. His thoughtful way of tackling problems is not only patient but tactful at the same time. I have never heard him shout in an argument (which is so frequently done by most Hungarians) let alone did I ever hear him use a cuss word or any thing expressing rudeness or even tactlessness.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He was my most inspired associate in the Student Organization I have spoken of, and he is my most inspiring friend as of now. I have found in him a true dedication to his nation, as well as to mankind in general -- to his religion as well as to human souls in general and to the class he emanated from and he so dearly loves, peasantry, as well as to a truly classless society. In other words, he is a shining example of human charity, love and dedication.

II. MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

These are the most important things respondent would like to see the Americans be aware of:

- (1) "Communism is a mortal enemy of the United States, because the United States stands in the way of world Communism to its ultimate goal, which is world conquest, or, in other words, world unity under Moscow's domination."
- (2) "The ideology, the methodology, the tactics, the economical, social and cultural life of Communism are devoted to this single aim: world unity under Moscow's domination."
- (3) "Bolshevism developed to perfection how to make dictatorship efficient, despite bitter opposition by most of their subjects."
- (4) "The real anti-Communist masses of millions of people are to be found in the east European countries and in Soviet Russia."
- (5) "If the free world does not fight against Bolshevism, ~~maintaining~~ keeping all of these considerations in mind, Bolshevism may engulf the world in a global conflict."
- (6) "It is of paramount importance that in Eastern Europe it became apparent that today's Soviet regime is Bolshevism that made idealist Marxists and Communists disillusioned in the ten years of Communism."

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

Respondent begins his narration with mentioning that he followed events in Poland with great interest and excitement and listened carefully to news on the night of the 21st. Then, speaking of the 22nd of October, he goes on saying:

"I expected the appearance of Hetfoi Hirlap. When it appeared on the streets there were too few copies and the people actually physically fought for copies. I happened to be ~~xxxxxxx~~ with a newspaper boy who had to be protected by a policeman because people just dashed and almost squeezed him to the wall. The policeman at last helped him to get into a public toilet and that was the only way he could protect him from the crowd. Polish events were the topic of interest and conversation. But people were so interested in hearing about Polish events that they paid as much as 10 forints for a copy of the Hetfoi Hirlap or a copy of the Irodalmi Ujsag. (Interviewer's note: Hetfoi Hirlap had a role quite similar to that of Irodalmi Ujsag). A friend of mine, who was a librarian, told me that in some places in the country peasants paid as much as 100 forints for an issue of Irodalmi Ujsag or the Hetfoi Hirlap. I managed to get a copy of the Hetfoi Hirlap, but at about 6 p.m. I received much more interesting news from a friend, who was working in Szovosz. (Interviewer's note: National Headquarters of the State controlled, but to a small degree free, cooperatives.) This friend told me that students of the Engineering Schools of the Technical University brought typewritten copies of demands to him and distributed such among their friends and that these demands contained also a basic demand for free elections. Of course we were greatly puzzled and debated what this could mean and what this could lead to."

"Next day (Oct. 23) I went to work in the morning. The plant where I was working was opposite the Kelenfold St. car depot. As I went to work I saw only a very few people in the streets and learned only later that most students had stayed until dawn at the Technical University discussing in unusually hot debates the ~~demands~~ wording of their demands. At 1 p.m. I received a call from my wife, who worked downtown, to the effect that youth was marching in the streets in masses and that some 16 points of demands were posted in various parts of the city on trees and wooden fences and walls, and that mass demonstrations were scheduled for the afternoon at the Bem status. I told most of the people around me, who were reliable, the news (only two or three people were not trustworthy) and all of us

talked with terrific excitement about these things."

"At 4 p.m., I called it a day and hurried to the Bem statue. On the Moric Zeigmond Square I found a very large crowd and saw the 16 points of demands posted on trees and walls and lamp posts, and people read them aloud to those surrounding them. I also observed that people looked around, watching for ADO. On the Buda bridge head of the ~~Károlyi~~ Erzsébet Bridge, I saw the first truck loaded with students who held flags and sang. People waved at them, but not all people yet. Wherever I looked I saw streetcars jammed packed with people who were apparently all heading for the Bem Square. I got on one of the streetcars. Two students also got on the streetcar with the 16 points of demands mimeographed, and people wanted to get a copy, but they didn't have enough. So they kept begging and pleading why it should be they who received those few copies. On the Chain Bridge, I saw more trucks with singing students. It was about 4:45 p.m. when I saw people coming in bunches from the Bem Square towards the Parliament Building. Most passengers got out near the Parliament Building and I listened enthusiastically to the crowd which started speaking freely of events and we all went together to the Parliament. There was a huge crowd. Estimates went from 50,000 to 100,000, on the steps of the Parliament, and they sang the national anthem. We heard slogans like "Let's have a new government still tonight!" "Independence and freedom!" The enthusiasm was beyond description. Ever more people came and demanded "Let's hear Imre Nagy." Artillery officers arrived with flags and rosettes and they waved friendly and smiling to the crowd."

"More and more slogans were voiced by the crowd, like "The soldiers of every country should go back to their own country!" and they started making actual concrete demands like "Down with the red star!" "Hoist the flags!" In fact, those responsible for these things in the Parliament Building followed suit and hoisted ~~the flags~~ flags and put flags in the windows, flags which had no ~~Communist~~ Communist emblems. The huge red star on the roof of the Parliament was left, but later they obeyed the demands of the crowd and put off the light. People kept shouting demands, pleading for freedom of the Polish and Hungarians peoples and demanding that Imre Nagy come and speak."

"When the street lights were put out, people lighted newspaper torches and it was an unforgettable picture. The parliament square filled with

people holding torches made out of newspapers. After about an hour, when people kept demanding that lights be turned on again, they were actually put on. It was between 6 and 7 p.m. that I went ~~xxxx~~ to meet my wife and sister-in-law so that we could be together on the Parliament Square."

"There were various rumors going around in the crowd about Imre Nagy. After a while, Antal Apró came out to the balcony to speak. People booed and yelled "Enough of lies!" There were also some yells "He should die!"

"People it seems were pretty inventive. Most of the slogans were very well rhyming. The spur of the moment, there were many occasional poets, it seems. Such slogans as "Rakosi into the Danube and the statue of Stalin should be hung around his neck!" or "Into the Danube with Rakosi and Imre Nagy into the government!" and many similar slogans were perfectly rhymed, and their rhythm was flawless. The crowd kept demanding Imre Nagy from about 5 p.m. until about 8:30 or 9 p.m. It was then that Imre Nagy came. He was greeted with great ovations. "Dear Comrades!" he started his speech. There came a roar from the crowd: "We are no comrades!" "We are no more comrades!" and sure enough, Imre Nagy changed his mind and addressed the crowd: "Dear Hungarian brethren." People listened ~~xx~~ intently and expected complete promises, but were disillusioned. He spoke in generalities and kept repeating "Trust me, I have never been a traitor." Unfortunately, the loud speakers were not functioning well and people heard even that little only faintly, and grew more and more tense and angry. People noticed that he was not standing alone on the balcony but was surrounded by other ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ persons and people said to each other that he is actually speaking at gunpoint, because the AVO are standing with submachine guns in the rear of the balcony. Hence, people started demanding: "Be alone on the balcony!" but of course nothing changed, and Imre Nagy concluded his speech without saying what people expected him to say. But people did not give up and the slogan "A new government still tonight!" was chanted by the crowd."

"Soon the crowd learned the news about Erno Gero's speech. The word ~~spread~~ spread from mouth to mouth in the great crowd. Minutes later the cry rose: "Gero perish!" Another news came the same way to the effect that the Stalin ~~xxxx~~ status had been toppled. This made a very great and very good impression and people grew more cheerful, but the effect of Gero's speech was devastating."

"Another news which came as a rumor was even more devastating and particularly stirring, and that was about the AVO having fired at the

crowd at the radio station. Many young people immediately passed the word: "Let's go to the radio!" There were trucks that volunteered to take these people to the radio and all trucks available in the neighborhood were stacked full, carrying people to the radio station. Others decided to go to a printing shop to see that they print the 16 points of demand."

"I went with my wife and my sister-in-law to the printing shop. The night shift was working in the printing shop and the crowd demanded that the 16 points be printed. This demand was taken by a delegation that was elected right there in front of the building by the crowd. Many workers were in the windows and they seemed to be very interested in the demands of the crowd. The delegation came back and reported that they were already printing the demands in leaflets. But the crowd was distrustful, and the people said: "Let's stay until they have printed it and handed us over!" I had a part in developing this demand and I decided to do this now on other occasions as well, to influence decisions of the crowd by ~~giving suggestions~~ voicing suggestions. Thus, I was one of those who suggested slogans that were already said, or similar ones, like "Gero should go!" or "Let's have a new government still tonight!" and the crowd was intense in its demands that the printers hand us over the printed leaflets. After a while, the crowd became impatient and sent in the delegation again. Now printers came out with the delegation and they promised in person that it would be ready very soon."

"By then we received again reports coming from the radio station that the AVO had fired at the crowd. And this was now the second time, while we were standing there in front of the Szikra printing shop. The first stacks of leaflets came now soon and the crowd was cheerful and demanded that the points be carried out. But, even more important, it was the reaction of the crowd to the now clearly confirmed report that the AVO fired at the crowd and that there were casualties. The slogan arose: "The AVO are murderers!" and they demand "Down with Gero!", repeated again and again, and also a new one, "The AVO should perish!"

"These and similar slogans were particularly shouted on our way to the radio station. It was about 10 p.m. and the crowd kept swelling as we went to the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Street."

"When we arrived near the radio building, we heard that the student group that went from the Parliament to the radio to announce the 16 points was not admitted to the radio building. We were told that by then special AVO troops had arrived and we indeed saw their cars and trucks in surrounding streets. We heard that the students, as well as the surrounding crowd, demanded that they be let in, but it was refused. But, the story went on, three or four students crawled through windows and they were held captive in the building. When the crowd realized what happened, they pushed even closer to the AVO colonel and the AVO soldiers who stood at the entrance door with submachine guns in their hands. We were told that at this point the crowd shouted



"Get in!" and we were told that tight groups now pushed interminately toward the entrance door. It was at this point that tear-gas grenades were held at the advancing crowd. People rather suffer the pains of hell we were told but they did not retreat, only for a few minutes and then they pushed back. After they somewhat recovered ~~from~~ from coughing and and weeping and everything else, they once more started back to the main entrance as a phalanx. Now the AVO ordered fire, and the AVO soldiers appeared quite reluctant to actually fire at the crowd; they threatened again, and again, saying: "Don't get closer because we shoot. Stop moving because we shoot!" The Colonel gave again an order and as we saw it, his men still refused to shoot at the crowd; he, then took a shot at one of the AVO men and it was then that the rest of them opened fire. The crowd fled now, but some ~~smarter~~ people with more courage went back for the wounded. People counted, we were told, eight dead and seven wounded who were taken away to neighboring buildings. It was at this point that the Colonel said to set AVO cars afire. We were also told that when all of this happened, another crowd came from the Stalin Statue.

"We were told that this first skirmish had taken place about fifteen or twenty minutes before our arrival. I should also mention that on our way to the Radio Bldg. from the Szikra printing shop we saw several trucks with soldiers on the Kossuth Lajos Street and that we witnessed as the soldiers handed over their arms to the surrounding crowd. We also met a policeman who complained to us that ~~he~~ had only two rounds of ammunition and that he also would like to fight against the AVO. These things come to my memory as I try to give an account as to what I saw at the ~~the~~ corner of Museum Korut St. and Sandor St. While we heard these things told mainly by my brother-in-law with whom we had been for some time at the Parliament, but learned from him that he had come over to the Radio Bldg before and witnessed all of the things just said, and also from other people who were around ~~it~~ - while we heard this, we heard a milling crowd all around. We saw the buildings burning which had been set afire against the AVO and we saw 13 and 15 yr. old boys - apprentices - arriving with rifles in their hands, and we talked to student girls who told us about the dead who had been taken to neighboring buildings. By then, the distribution of arms was going up and the battle noise was terrible ( it was tremendous). We were also offered ~~for~~ rifles and I had to prevent my wife from accepting one; I decided that I would not fight with arms in my hands because if they would capture me by any chance they would turn this against the revolution because they would say that I was one who had been in prison, and I knew well that they would use every bit

of information against the revolutions, saying that "jail-birds" staged this entire uprising. The same was true about my wife who wanted to fight - I didn't want a "jail-bird's wife" to be captured and I didn't want that fact used against the revolution.

"The boys who fought by them did it mainly from the Museum Garden, and from the corner at which we were standing and at other surrounding corners. I went around, and asked, eager to see what was going on and how many people there were involved in the fighting, and I tried to assess the situation and to come to a conclusion as to what might come out of this. It was amazing to see how many people, and what ages of people, there were in the milling crowds. Take for instance, I met a seventy-year-old woman, an acquaintance of ours - who had come from quite a distance to see things.

"The crowd was now determined to get even more rifles because the ones which were distributed proved to be insufficient to the army or anyone who wanted to fight. People suggested that we go to Gkap Czepel; others that we go to W Past for arms; others, that we go to K-rzseebet. Talk after talk came and they left to get arms. They went to certain barracks, too which were suggested in the crowd as a good place to seize arms. I wanted to go with the trucks but my wife and sister-in-law held me back.

"As we were standing there on the corner, we saw one ambulance standing there and asked what the reason was that it was empty and five or six people - one acquaintance among them, a good acquaintance whose word we can trust - said that the situation was such that the people had no reason to change anything. These people said that this was either the third or the fourth ambulance which was going to go to the radio building and since the first two, or three, did not return people found it conspicuous and when this one came they stopped it and looked into it and found that it was ~~szkxsbxmx~~ carrying ammunition. People stopped that ambulance and confiscated all the ammunition found in it and chased away the driver and the people who were clad in ambulance service uniforms but were suspected as being the AVO. Anyway, it was apparent that they were carrying ammunition for the AVO to the radio building. As people grabbed for arms and ammunition and distributed among themselves, it was very hard for me to keep my decision to keep out of armed fighting. It was then that I first started realizing that this is taking more and more the proportions of a revolution. People got organized and passed the word "Let's capture the radio". They took positions in the Museum garden and in buildings across from the radio building and they started

crawling toward the radio building just like soldiers. Workers who came with those trucks announced to the crowd overjoyed and proudly: "We come from Csepel!" Others announced: "We have hundreds of rifles from the Lampagyar."

Now a real battle developed between AVÓ stationed in the radio building and the crowd who wanted to capture it and had taken up positions all around.

"Thinking of our children, we decided to go home, hoping that the events would take a favorable turn but still didn't know how. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ On our way home we were so tired that we went into a cafe to sit down for a few minutes and to collect our thoughts, in the terrific excitement. As we sat there with other similarly excited people, several students came in whose clothes were torn and dirty and bloody. They came in with their rifles and told us about events - everybody did so, and we talked over in great excitement what was going on. These revolutionaries could easily have had their coffees without paying and it was characteristic of the whole atmosphere of the entire revolution that they paid for them as if nothing had happened.

"As we continued our way, leaving the cafe, Russian tanks came on the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Street and fired point blank at people on the street.

"Not far from that place, as we walked on our way, we saw a Russian armored car burning and we saw the first Russian dead in the revolution beside that armored car. There were quite a few standing around and they told us that it happened just a few minutes before - by the way it was between 2:00 and 3:00 a.m. (Oct. 24th). It happened, they said, that this armored car fired into the crowd and some people had hand grenades attacked it and this is how it was hit.

"Now the feeling of impending tragedy gripped me as I saw these evidences of Russian interference. I knew and saw clearly that the die was cast, and there was no way back. I thought that it would be a terrible fight - a massacre - and afterwards a series of arrests and tortures and executions as never before, but I had the feeling that we had to fight it out - that we had to help those who risked their lives and that the fight could not stop, and that we had to hope again against hope. I couldn't help feeling that this was a tragic turn of events. Perhaps I never had more mixed feelings than in those hours.

"As we were walking we passed by the Szikra printing shop and also the Voros Csillag (Red star printing shop). There was a few students in front of those printing shops and they distributed leaflets. The leaflets

contained the sixteen points and other pamphlets first used the words "revolutionaries" and "rebels" and these leaflets said that "they are butchering our students- we take up the fight!" xxx

It was about 3:30 that we arrived at home.

"Next morning (Oct. 24th) I was so restless under the impact of the events that I left home at 7:30 a.m. I decided to go around in town to find out what was going on. I wanted to see as much as possible. Still the Buda side of the Danube, Hungarian soldiers came in tanks and people on the sidewalks watched them silently. I walked over to the Madach bridge and found that Hungarian soldiers closed the traffic on that bridge and heard later that they let no Russian tanks through either. I crossed the bridge and on the Pest side I saw large crowds wherever I went. There were several checking points on the streets but they let us through and they weren't able to halt people and crowds were flowing on the streets.

"It was about eight p.m. that I arrived at the Voros Csillag printing shop and saw a large crowd standing before it and demanding "let them out!" I learned from people that students who were printing revolutionary leaflets at night were captured by AVO and held captive in the building, and people wanted the AVO to release them. People were wild and took an armored car which they had captured from the Russians and rammed the entrance door but they didn't manage to break it. They took stones and hurled them at the windows. Then one AVO man came to the balcony and he announced to the crowd that they didn't hold anyone captive, but the crowd didn't believe him. They yelled: "Don't lie! Don't lie!" Their anger extended also to the flag that was hanging there with the Communist emblem and they demanded that he cut it down and the AVO obeyed. As the crowd kept demanding that they release the students whom they had overpowered, several shots were fired from buildings across the street. As the situation assumed more and more a character of an armed fight, people came with the news that Russians were coming. Indeed, a column of Russian tanks came and the people ran to take cover, but we didn't care but went on our way to see as much as we could. As I walked away from the scene I kept thinking that now everything was over and a new wave of terror would follow this bold attempt, but I was anxious to learn about the happenings as much as I could. I wanted to go to the radio to see how last night's fight ended. I was held up by a policeman who said that I shouldn't go there as the fight was still raging, but I didn't care as I wanted to see things so I kept going. On my way I saw Russian anti-tank guns stationed at the Ady theatre. On the way, I

saw several trucks with unarmed rebels who threw out leaflets. More and more people on the street suggested not to recede. Russian armored cars were running around in the streets. Madach Square in one of the apartment houses facing the Ady theatre, I saw a window open and the barrel of a rifle aimed at the anti-tank guns that were stationed there. Two or three shots were fired, and one Russian soldier fell who was standing. Others Russians fired back, and one minute later Russian armored cars fired point blank at the houses. ~~xxxx~~

"I left the scene and went to the Rokoczi Ut. I saw there a battle raging between Russian soldiers who were engaged in an assault against the Astoria Hotel and against apartment houses in the neighborhood in which revolutionaries were fighting. Again I had the feeling that I wanted arms in my hands, but I didn't have any and I remembered my decision not to expose myself to the danger of being captured and used against the revolution by referring to me as a criminal because I had been in prison; I also thought of my family, and went home.

"Of course, I had to walk home and thus it lasted quite some time and I saw an awful lot on my way. As I walked along, I saw a soldier coming with two submarine guns in his hand and one civilian asked him to give one of the guns to him and the soldier was ready to do so, but right then a policeman stopped them and wanted to confiscate both submarine guns but both talked him out of it. Close to the Western Railroad Terminal, I saw Russian guns, and soldiers, and I saw crowds everywhere and a terrific excitement was all over town. There was a nearby postoffice nearby and the buildings were shelled because freedom fighters were in those buildings. I realized that here was another fight going on because there were several nests of resistance which the Russians were unable to subdue. The crowds kept watching the fight. Whenever there was momentary quiet people stuck out their necks and looked around at what was going on and when shots came they ran for cover in the buildings. I saw here a 15 or 16 yr. old boy who stood with a rifle in his hands behind a lamp post. He aimed well and stepped ~~back~~ forward for a moment and fired, and then he stepped back again behind the lamp post. He hit one of the Russians who didn't know where the fire was coming from, and the boy just repeated the same again and again. I happened to recognize one of my former AVO interrogators standing in the crowd. As the Russians received reinforcement in the form of several tanks that started firing all around, I had to run myself for cover and went into the May building.

In another momentary quiet, I started again on my way home. I saw people raising street barricades. In one side street that led to the Ministry of Defense, I saw a group of AVO standing and in a hot debate with a large crowd. The crowd shouted to them: "Come out you scoundrels - you bums, you thugs, and they went closer and closer to them - threatening. I learned from people that those AVO members held a number of freedom fighters captive in the Ministry of Defense. "Release our prisoners, you traitors!" The Ministry of Defense itself was surrounded by Russian tanks, but people didn't care. Whenever there was no shooting, they pushed closer to the AVO and voiced their demands. The entire area was either fighting, or demonstrating, or preparing for fight by raising barricades.

"As I walked on the street, I heard the radios blaring "Amnesty for the rebels if they ~~surrender~~ surrender by 1:00 P.M." It threatened that bridges would be closed after 1:00 P.M." But wherever, I went, people talked about the murders of the AVO and I heard people say in the streets that this has to be fought out with the AVO. People were indeed determined that the "man of the street" was present in numbers heretofore unseen, and this man of the street was determined not to surrender.

"I arrived about 2:00 or 2:30 P.M. and received a message at home from the University Revolutionary Council and the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals to go to the Central University:

"I ate just a few bits and hurried to the building of the Central University who sent for me. I found them already in heated discussion talking of all the important aspects of the Revolution. They called it a revolution by then and called themselves what I just referred to. The main concern of our negotiations was the practical tasks we were facing. We received reports from fighters who were engaged in battle at the Kilian barracks and from freedom fighters from the Corvin theatre.

"It was at this meeting that I learned that the radio building had been captured by 2:30 a.m., but that this didn't mean control over the radio because they had another studio and they could continue their broadcasts undisturbed. I also learned that these friends of mine <sup>had</sup> called up Hegedus the previous night and told him that it would be necessary for the government to give in to the demands of the people because the people are determined to fight it out and Hegedus replied that the government was well in control of the situation and said: "Don't be so nervous, comrades, it will be all over by the next morning." Several among the

members of the University Council doubted very much that it Imre Nagy who called in the Russian troops, and they knew that he virtually held captive and that no one could get into contact with him at all.

"On my way home, I went through the Széna Square. People were busy raising barricades and preparing for fight and talking over things. I heard that three young boys had destroyed an armored car in the afternoon. I remained there for a while and helped them to organize resistance. Wherever people talked, I heard again and again that they wondered whether it was actually Imre Nagy who called in the Russians. As I went home, I saw more posters on the streets with inscriptions like "Long live the rebels!" or, "Long Live our Heroic Freedom Fighters!" By the way, I think I was either the first or among the first who wrote this inscription myself as I went around and chalked up such slogans. The sixteen points appeared everywhere - posted on trees, and lampposts, and walls. Poems, hand-written - patriotic poems about the heroes who were fighting for Hungarian freedom - Again, again and again, I saw and helped spread the slogan "The AVO has committed murders!" or another one, "Russki Domoi!" (Russians, go home!)

"As the evening fell, resistance groups withdrew to their nests. There were only a few shots from the Pest side of the Danube and quiet fell on the city after eight o'clock. By midnight everything seemed quiet, but I doubted that resistance was wiped out although the radio announced, and the quiet seemed to prove it, I still didn't believe what I heard, and I was hopeful that resistance would not falter.

" On Oct. 25th, in the morning the government issued orders to resume work, but people instead went to see the scenes of battle. I went from Buda to Pest. I found no more Hungarian tanks at the bridge heads, but Russian tanks instead. On the Pest side, I saw two dead covered with wrapping paper; on the corner of a neighboring house, I saw signs of shelling; and on the sidewalks, bloodstains. In the vicinity of the Ministry of Defense and on the entire Nagykorut (large circleway) I saw Russian tanks and armored cars. All weapons were aimed at nearby buildings. On the faces of the population whom I met on the streets and they were in larger numbers than ever, I saw bitterness, boldness and resolution.

"At the bridgeheads and at the Vigssinház, I saw Hungarian AVO men together with Russian soldiers who checked on the population whether or not they proceeded to their jobs. Since many barricades interrupted traffic, tanks pushed the barricades away. Ambulances tried to find their ways

among barricades.

"In front of the Western Railroad terminal, on the Marx Square, I found fragments of battles - parts of shells spread over the roads. There were no shop windows intact in the entire neighborhood - hardly any windows - signs of shelling were everywhere. Here and there one could see dead Russian soldiers and Hungarian freedom fighters. In shops, behind broken windows, I saw merchandise untouched..even in jewelry stores. At some spots I saw signs: "This is how Hungarians are looting" (interviewer's note: respondent means to say that there just wasn't any looting and the people were so proud of it that they put out the signs stressing that they were not looting at all - pointing to the well-stacked shop windows, and saying that this is the way they loot- that everything remains in tact, and they stressed this point so broadly because the Communists' radio again and again charged the "mob" with looting)

"In entrances of houses, groups of people were speaking freely. Those quiet so many years now spoke up in the atmosphere of unfolding freedom.

"As I kept walking, I saw close to the Majakovszky Street, in front of the Horizont bookshop, ashes of burned books and the flaming pile of still burning books. Students and apprentices were busy carrying partisan literature to the pile of books. As Soviet tanks were approaching, those youngsters ducked but when the tanks passed they carried on.

"I saw people smiling happily as never before on Rakoczi Ut, and other places. I might say wherever I went, the faces of people radiated joy and happiness and confidence.

"A Dohany St., I met men running to Nagydiofa St. I stopped one and they told me they were running to the site where just a few minutes before the following happened: three young student girls went with Hungarian flags on the street and AVO from an armored car shot the flag-carrier to death. Upon this, the crowd on the street locked the street by standing in the way of the armored car and they climbed on it and tore the AVO to pieces.

"As I kept walking, I saw Russian tanks trying to intimidate people by running around in the streets and apparently they hoped the people would lose courage in the face of so much armed might, but they were mistaken. Even wild battle noise coming from the direction of Ferencvaros and Jozsefvaros didn't prevent the grouping of people on Nagykorut and Rakoczi Ut. The closeness of armed fighting did not prevent people from sledge-hammering at the Stalin statue. As I arrived at the place where the Stalin statue was ~~xxxxxxx~~ being torn to pieces, I saw people joyously hammering at it and taking it literally apart. When I arrived there I just saw them sever one of his arms from the body, and then the hand from the arm. ~~People were eager to secure pieces, and they scrambled to seize parts for souvenirs, but the revolution is having a good time they said to see other people standing around. The noise of hammering filled all the~~



People were eager to secure pieces, and they scrambled to seize parts for souvenirs, but the revolution is having a good time, they said, to each other where people were standing a round. The noise of the hammering filled all the nearby streets. On the statue, I found inscriptions like "Post-Office robber" "Mass-murderer" "Trash-can". This was only one of the signs that the people kept their sense of humour which is so characteristic of the people of Budapest. I was still standing there and watching what was going on at the Stalin statue when I saw Russian tanks running from the Jozsef Korut (Joseph circled way) to Nepszinhas St. and saw them hit the Stalin Statue with a tremendous noise and to continue their way undisturbed.

"In Nepszinhas St. I saw a number of armored cars. The Szabad Nep bookshop I saw the same scene as at the Horizont bookshop. At Rakoczi Ut, I saw burned-out armored cars and it was there that I observed the event that later played such a great role in resistance - the buses that had resumed their work, stopped and strike was proclaimed until the Russians left Hungary. As the drivers and conductors stepped out of the buses they deflated the tires, and one bus driver at the corner of Nagydiofa St. and Nyar St., I observed, turned his bus across the street to stop Russian tanks. This was to be kind of a barricade. Other barricades were raised in many places. As I walked down the Rakoczi Avenue I saw signs of the destruction everywhere. The least sign of destruction was branches of trees ~~broken~~ broken. A large department store was burned out, ruins dead - some covered and some not covered - One of the dead was a Russian officer - there were several Russian soldiers. Most Hungarians were covered by the National flag. I saw a nurse in uniform among the dead. At another spot I saw a father with his 14yr old boy, dead. When I approached the Astoria Hotel, I saw a particularly large crowd, and heard them sing Solemn Appeal of the Hungarian Nation. I saw many in the crowd climb on the Russian tanks; in fact, all Russian tanks that were there at the Astoria Hotel were full of Hungarian people. ~~At~~ The shop windows of the Astoria, Russian soldiers were standing with submarine guns. Hungarian students went to them and fraternized with them. The Russian soldiers smiled and were friendly and I saw then Hungarian students taking the submarine guns from their hands and hugging and kissing those soldiers. The smile of the Russian soldiers seemed to reflect both some growing enthusiasm, friendliness and also intimidation. Some joy was certainly clear in their eyes but their emotions seemed to be quite mixed so far as one could read in human faces. The fever and the

vigor of the revolution seemed to affect them. They seemed to feel that the cause of the people was a just one, but in all likelihood they were afraid of the consequences.

"The enthusiasm of the crowd was really hard to describe. One could see people from all walks of life and from all age groups. Signs were everywhere. The Hungarian Kossuth crest and the slogans: "Down with Gero" "Death to Gero!" "The AVO is murdering!" sounded again and again. It was in this atmosphere that the scene I described above took place and it was in this atmosphere that the following incident happened:

"A Hungarian army truck was approaching with armed soldiers. An officer was sitting in the driver's seat with the driver. The crowd yelled: "Don't you hit Hungarians- you guys are Hungarians yourselves!" The officer hinted: "We won't" and he turned the truck around; people cheered in great enthusiasm, and slogans were shouted again: "Down with the traitorous government!" "Independence, freedom, we are no Fascist!" One person suggested: "Let's go to the Parliament!", and the crowd responded favorably to this suggestion, and then, lo! the Russian tanks accompanied the crowd.

"I heard that fire broke out in the building of the National Museum, and I hurried there. As I arrived I saw fire trucks working and saw smoke in the right wing of the building, but by then the fire department had just about finished their job. I saw Russian tanks and armored cars facing the building. People said that there were freedom fighters in the building. Entrances were locked. As long as the fire fighters were there freedom fighters didn't shoot - so I was told by those standing around.

"It was about ten-thirty a.m. and I went to the University Revolutionary Council. We held a conference from tenthirty a.m. until about one p.m. and talked over things in great detail. We tried to assess the entire situation. We came to the conclusion, on the basis of the reports we received, that still nobody could get to Imre Nagy, but our conclusion was quite firm that it was unlikely it was he who issued the orders. We also learned from reliable reports from friends that Mikoyan had arrived the previous day. We considered how we could get to Imre Nagy and liberate him. We seriously considered kidnapping him from Party Headquarters Building at the Akademia St. Another resolution we adopted was to create Revolutionary Councils and to form a Revolutionary Government under the leadership of Imre Nagy as soon as we could. This government we resolved should persuade the Russians to accept a cease-fire and to withdraw. We estimated that the Russian forces consisted of from four-to-six armored divisions. I left before the conference was over at about one p.m. I went

to Buda to the Moric Zsigmond Korter ( Morris Zigmund round Square)  
I wanted to see my cousin who was a good freedom fighter.

"The fact that Russian tanks had started from the Astoria Hotel joined the revolutionary crowd spread like wild-fire throughout the city, and I helped to spread it. Not only in the Revolutionary Council of the University but wherever I went. At the Moric Zsigmond Korter I found signs of a previous battle. I went to my cousin and other friends - to the plant where I worked and I found only a few had showed up to work. The former Communist Party Secretary said I was told by people that it wasn't worth to fight because the revolution could not possibly succeed. He was quoted as having termed the revolutionaries "fool-hardy children". The atmosphere among the workers was fear and hopeful expectation mixed. They didn't know what would come out of the revolution and the anxious question was whether "the revolutionaries can endure" ...

"It was not only their concern but the major concern of a great many people to save the freedom fighters who had been captured. Saving lives of heroes was the primary concern of most people. I was still in my plant when the radio announced that Gero was dismissed, and that Kadar was to join the government. At the plant listened tearfully to the announcement and to the appeal that followed to the effect that we should hoist National flags. This was the first great accomplishment of the revolution. (In hindsight, I might say that Mikoyan saw that Russian troops were demoralized and resigned to the act that he had to give in to the demands of the revolution).

"Now I thought that the revolution wouldn't stop.

"I went down town. As I walked on the streets, I saw the destruction of the Soviet stars, and cheering crowds. I saw a particularly large crowd on the Moric Zsigmond Korter who were singing "Solemn Appeal to the Hungarian Nation". After the song was over, I yelled, very loudly: "Amnesty to the captured!" and the crowd adopted this as a slogan and the entire crowd resounded from this demand. I helped with a few more slogans so as to direct the enthusiasm crowd toward attainable goals and then I left and went downtown.

"At the Radik barracks, a large crowd was demonstrating and it kept demanding: "Let them out! Let out our boys!" Young men climbed on the gate of the barracks and reported that machine guns were standing facing the gate. But the demonstration went on. Some ten minutes later, a

Russian tank column approached. The majority of the crowd ran away but some of them stayed. The Russian tanks toward the Moxic Zsigmond Korter and the demonstration was resumed: "Release the prisoners!" As a diplomatic car, a Swiss car, rolled down the street, people ended up by standing in front of it and they all kept shouting at the persons in the car. The noise was tremendous and nothing could be understood. But the crowd came to its senses, and the demand became the loudest: "One person should speak up". And indeed, one person spoke in German: "Let the West know that the Hungarians want freedom and independence! Please tell the West that the entire Hungarian population is behind our demands and please make it clear what you yourself saw!"

"From somewhere, a rumour was brought to the crowd to the effect that United Nations troops were in West Hungary. As I looked around and listened to people it seemed to me that 70 or even 90 percent of them didn't believe the rumour. Their main reaction to this was that the main concern of people was that news should go to the West of what was actually going in Hungary.

"It was about two or three p.m. when I arrived at the Gellert Square. It was there that I heard that on Parliament Sq. a terrible massacre had taken place, and the estimates around were from 400- 1000. People were dismayed, shocked and infuriated. This blood bath only impassioned people more and actually poured oil on the fire instead of extinguishing it. I asked how it happened and tried to find people who actually saw it. There were passionate outcries in the crowd and determination was the most characteristic reaction to what we heard. People such as I and several of them expressed: "Now a life and death struggle will ensue!"....

"Between Gellert Sq. and the Szabadsag Sq. (Freedom bridge) I met Russian tanks which had hoisted Hungarian flags; people were surrounding them and a lively conversation was kept up through a few Hungarians who spoke Russian. When I got there they just interpreted that the Russian soldier asserted that they would not shoot at freedom fighters unless they were fired upon. Now I asked through the Russian speaking person: "Why did you guys hoist Hungarian flags on the tanks?" And the answer was that they wanted to demonstrate that they would not shoot upon freedom fighters unless they were attacked. And they had good reason to think of

being shot at because a tremendous battle noise was coming from the direction of Ulloi St.

"I got again to the Astoria Hotel by about three or four p.m. I again saw Russian tanks and again saw people talking with Russian soldiers and officers, but the officers this time did not let people go too close to the tanks, and people battered the Russian soldiers with such questions as: "Why did you guys shoot our houses to shambles?" They argued with the soldiers: "You guys also have mothers, don't you?!" "We're no enemies of yours!" And people pointed to others in the crowd saying that this man or this woman's boy got killed by the Russians. But others who were not so close to the Russians, started questioning their wisdom and their moral right to fraternize with the Russian soldiers: "Why do you guys talk to them?!" but the answer was quick: "They are victims themselves!". The people who were inclined to question replied: "Don't you think they are Communists?!" "What should a poor devil like them do? They are put here on this post and that is it!" And it was only the minority of the people who were against fraternizing with the Russians and they were kind of "voted down" and they left to go to another group. The majority continued the friendly conversation: "Why did you guys do this to us?!" The soldiers defended themselves. They seemed embarrassed and ashamed: "We were told that you people had to be defended against Fascism."

"I left this group and went on. I saw shop windows without merchandise but signs in their places: "We took the merchandise with nothing lost".. this is how the shop managers know how they appreciated that there was no stealing, and ~~many~~ people spoke proudly of this feat: They quoted many admirable examples like: "One shoe fell out of a shop window, and it got ruined because a tank squashed it. A hundred forint bill was thrown by somebody into the shop window with a message scribbled on a paper "we are sorry that the revolution ruined this shop". Another similar story went like this: "On the Klausel Sq. looters were shot to death by freedom fighters: this is a fate of those who soil the purity of a revolution!"

"I walked down on the Tanacs Korut to the Madach Sq. I heard a radio which was put in a window, and there I heard one of the official speeches but unfortunately I wasn't able to listen well because it seemed that from Scervita Sq. I heard the National Anthem. I listened and then after a few minutes, I heard it again coming from Bajcsy-Zelinszky Avenue, and next to the Basilika, I saw a great crowd coming with a great many flags. The first row were some ten black-clad Hungarian girls with mourning flags in their hands, and they also held National flags; wounded freedom fighters were with them in the first few rows. They all sang the National Anthem ~~and~~

as if it were a mourning march song. Never had a crowd in such a parade made such an impression upon me. After the National Anthem, they chanted as one man: "Independence! Freedom! We are no Fascists!" "The AVO is murdering!" "Who is a Hungarian goes with us!" "Come with us!" They demonstrated a shocking determination, as they went "Get flags Here!" they shouted and the people joined them with more flags. Slogans like the ones enumerated and the National Anthem followed one another. The Russian tanks stationed at the Astoria Hotel watched them demonstrate in silence. People did not try to insult the soldiers who were in and with the tanks. The crowd ~~and~~ passed them without incident and many of them called the soldiers: "Come with us!" I hope I am not wrong in my impression that the Russian soldiers wanted to go with them but did not dare to. The crowd shouted more slogans; "The United Nations should help!" They quoted from Petofi's most celebrated poem's refrain: "We swear we won't be slaves any longer!" and they also recited another line of that poem: "Now or Never!" I never heard "now or never" sound more perfectly and said with a more profound determination as this marching crowd went to the Petofi Sandor Sq. Many people looked out of the windows and wept.

"Up to this moment I just watched this marching crowd and now I joined them. We went to the British legation. There the crowd kept chanting: "The United Nations should help!" and "Help us!". Through the Guszev we went to the Szemelynok Sq to the American Legation. The entire Square was filled with people and they again changed: "The United Nations should help!" and "Now or Never!". These slogans lured one after the other. After a few minutes some official came out with an interpreter to the balcony of the American Legation. He held a brief speech stating that he felt sympathy and that he would forward the request of the people to his government. But people expected more and they felt disappointed. They felt disappointed all the more since this gentleman didn't speak with much warmth in his approach, nor did he demonstrate any profound interest in what was going on. Now people said again, "Let's go to the Parliament!". Others suggested that we do not go there, but finally the crowd started moving in that direction and some in the crowd moved away from the group. We went to the Parliament which was surrounded by Russian tanks. There we sang the National Anthem and the "Solemn Appeal to the Hungarian Nations". We passed the Ministry of Agriculture and went along back of the Danube, past the Ministry of Defense and at Szemelynok St. we went to the Police Headquarters which was believed, erroneously, to be an AVO headquarters. Here people raised the demands that the prisoners be released: "Hand the political prisoners out!" "Don't

hold our boys captive!" People became more and more threatening: "You are dogs - not Hungarians!" It seemed to me that the crowd was particularly outraged when it demanded the releasing of political prisoners, and its demands were not met.

I left the crowd to go home to see my wife and my children. As I left the crowd, I still heard them shouting: "You guys cannot beat the people!" I was not very far when I heard the crowd cheer. I thought that the prisoners were handed over to the crowd. Later my belief was confirmed by reliable reports.

"I found only grand-ma and the children home and my wife and other relatives who stayed with my family came home later. They had been also out in the city to see things going on. By then it was evening and we saw muzzle fires of guns' flash in the eight and the ninth precincts.

"I went again out to the city. On the corner of Margit Korut and Szent Ist Van Korut (St. Stephen Circleway). I heard from people that the prisoners had actually been released in whose behalf the crowd which I had joined in the afternoon had demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Defense. I heard ~~xxx~~ of the liberation of other prisoners by the same crowd at other points in the City. (I was with my wife so I should say "we" and not I.) We heard that at the Voros Csillag printing shop were working and issued a proclamation of Revolutionary Youth branding Erno Gero and his gang "murderers" and that the proclamation was addressed to the people of Budapest. We went there and found the freedom fighter leader of the printing shop coming out, and he asked us to disperse so the AVO, or the Russians do not find the crowd conspicuous and do not get there. He asked us to get the leaflets out to the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the country. I went in with the others and brought out a bunch and I started posting them on trees in surrounding streets with the help of thumbtacks which I found with private ads in the printing shop. On Szent Ist Van Korut I met Hungarians who talked to us telling that the Russians took the freedom fighters that captured the Basement of the Ministry of Defense and they saw this because they were on guard duty. The soldiers also told us that many wounded freedom fighters were snatched from hospitals by the Russians. They let us know that they were with us and said again and again "if we should had....." I saw gladly that people were reading the leaflets which in part I had posted.

"We received news that the demonstrating crowd went to Andrássy Avenue AVO barracks and approached the block threatening and was fired at by the AVO and people said that there were six dead and many wounded.

"I thought that I could best help at that very moment by spreading more leaflets and posters, so I went back to the Vörösmarty for more leaflets and posters.

"At the Margit bridgeheads I saw no more Russian tanks. Close to the Buda bridgehead there was resistance under organization. Many people in the streets built barricades. One man stood up and spoke as an orator: "I introduce myself. I used to be a Catholic monk; then I worked as a ~~factory worker~~ industrial worker. Now, we have to form a group of Buda freedom fighters. (While he spoke I scribbled with chalk "Long live our heroic freedom fighters). The AVO is murdering!". The man went on "We have to watch the government that it does not declare military dictatorship. We have to be on the alert!". People responded to his speech by saying: "We have to get arms!"

"We heard that the Pálffy Barricks sided with the revolution and were secretly handing out arms and ammunition to the freedom fighters ~~secretly~~. They mentioned in this connection the freedom fighters of Széna Square.

"In fact it was Széna Square that many people spoke of as one of the good strategical points to become a centre of resistance. My friends and I, who worked together, sent the women home and we went to Széna Square. There were only a few people at Széna Square who occupied the subway station, but in fact it seemed a good place for resistance. The greatest problem was the supply ~~with~~ ammunition. Some of my friends stayed there to organize resistance and I went on writing slogans, encouraging resistance in the Szigmond.

"Next day ( Oct. 26th) I received a message that invited me to a person's home to go to talks of the Small Holder's Party leaders concerning basic problems assessing what could and should be done.

"By then, the radio station announced a general curfew but people didn't heed these orders. Wherever I went in the city, I saw that people stood in queues and bought things in shops apparently feeling that shortages would develop, but I also observed that people were also patient and understanding toward each other. Grocery store employees worked heroically. I saw so many of them I was told came in from far distances, and the same was true of bakers. They were all anxious and eager to meet the needs of the population.



"More and more appeared to strike. As I went around in the city, I also saw that fighting was spreading.

"I went to the Small Holder's conference and every one of the 15 - 20 participants viewed their opinions with great candor. As all kinds of suggestions came up, I said the following thing among others: The Russians want the people to stay home so resistance would not be organized. This is by government orders - why they gave out the curfew and why they issued posters here on the walls with the words: "No blood shed!" "Work!".

"So I suggested that we pass the slogan to the workers that they should occupy the plants and I suggested this mainly because I hope the Communists would not shell the plants because they need their equipment very much for their economy. That was one of my main subjects, and the other one was the following: Worker's Council's and Revolutionary Councils should be formed and the strike should go on. Our conference lasted two to two and a half hours. One of our participants brought the message that Magyar Nemzet (Hungary's greatest liberal paper of the '40s which managed to speak with precaution for democracy even during the war years. In the first three years of the post-war era it managed to remain a liberal paper and it was only after '48 that it was taken over by the Communists) was on our side. I suggested that the things which I put in a resolution be made an editorial (one of the editors suggested it, not respondent).

"At this editor's request, I went over to the editor's conference of Magyar Nemzet after the Small Holder's Party meeting was over. I said to them what I meant and it was very favorably received. It was from here that I went to the Revolutionary University Council. On my way, I saw trucks with freedom fighters but I also saw Russian tanks run on the street and attack the freedom fighters. I saw several grades of freedom fighters on the streets.

"As I went to the Kozponti Egyetem (Central University Bldg.) I found it then occupied by our armed resistance freedom fighters. They escorted me to the Assembly Hall. It was filled with capacity with students. The speaker was Geza Leoncory. He spoke quite openly about the fact that the Stalinists were still clinging to their power and he suggested that László Nagy be liberated from the Russian ring of tanks, and that he should form a government and he could, and should, convince the Russians that this is a popular people's revolution. A debate ensued in which many of

the students spoke up - both frankly and courageously and quite intelligently. One thing seemed to have crystallized by then. Beyond doubt the fact that Imre Nagy seemed to be the right person to various layers of population who would have him as the logical choice for a Premier.

"For us the most significant activity of the next day (Oct. 27th) was all kinds of negotiations which were going on in Kosponti Egyetem. I took part in conferences of the University Revolutionary Council and of those of the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals; summarily I may say that we realized that we had to go on taking part in the leadership of the revolution. One of the constant concerns was to find ways to defend ourselves against AVO infiltration.

"As was usual, we learned most of the significant news at these conferences. One was that Gero, Hegedus and Piros and their gang left last night and were transported out of town with the help of Russian tanks. The information we received was to the effect that they were heading for the Soviet Union.

"The greatest news of the day was not only this. There were several more and all of them could be the "greatest" of the day. Another bit of news that we received was that Mikoyan left instruction when he left for Moscow that the legations be allowed to see Imre Nagy (until then he was only a nominal Premier). The first delegations, as we learned, in these two Revolutionary Councils I was referring to, went to him at the night of the 25th. It came out that maybe Mikoyan thought that this might quell the revolution, but there were very clear indications that they would not; on the contrary, they would help our forces.

"Not only had Imre Nagy not only begun to act as Premier but also there was a basic change by the government that Bela Kovacs and Tilda were admitted to the Cabinet.

"We had numerous friends in the various revolutionary councils of workers as well in those of the intellectuals and we received the most recent information on the negotiations with Imre Nagy. We were told that he was very deeply impressed by the formation of a Worker's Council ~~and not only granted the formation of~~ such but even ordered them through the Council of Unions. We also

41-M  
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received information on the skillful moves of the Communists who gave advice to their Party Secretaries and their Grant Committee Secretaries that they tried to enjoy and infiltrate the Worker's Councils. In fact, we received reliable information that several of such were elected as they were appreciated as persons.

"We both received information and help with our advice and persuasive negotiations that these Worker's Councils "shelled" the government with their demands and their suggestions. We were happy to receive the news that the government went over from the Party Headquarters Building to the building of the Parliament and that the Worker's Councils went there, one after the other.

"As I have already indicated, I spent most Kozponti Egylet (at the Central Building of the University) . No reports came in to the effect that Russian experts were in the same room with László Nagy as he received members of the Worker's Councils and other delegations that were admitted to him. Now we forged plans how we could impress on László Nagy's government and upon the Russians (perhaps thru László Nagy) that cease-fire negotiations get under way.

"We forged other plans as well. One of such plans was to make the Győr radio - the radio station of the Revolution. Some friends of mine and I were slated to go to assist them make the operation of this radio effective and efficient.

"Our friends in the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals edited and published a new press organ named "Igazság" ( Truth).

"That night (from Oct. 26th - Oct. 27th) I helped edit, with several others, another new paper called "Szezet" (Solemn Appeal).

"The next day (Oct. 28th) looked pretty similar in activities so far as I was concerned, as the previous day. I spent most of the time in the University Revolutionary Council and the Revolutionary Council of the Intellectuals. We now formulated our demands in clearly worded statements. There were two items of great news which brought our attention and which we discussed and which became factors in our further steps - one was the news that 3,000 workers of the Magyar Optikai Művek (Hungarian Optical Factory) voiced for the first time the demand of neutrality and upon receiving this news, we saw to it that this appear on the leaflets and that they be distributed all over the city.

"The second good news was that the radio still in the hands of the AVH and therefore in the hands of the Communist Party, was going over to the side of the revolution. It was now in the building of the Parliament and that building was still under control of the AVH; in spite of this fact, 156 employees (that is all employees with the exception of eight) demanded that they become free in their decisions and that those employees be fired. They threatened with strike if their demands were not realized.

"We talked all of this news over and a great deal more which came almost every minute, and we tried to find political ways to give added weight and to add to these things and to channel them into the right places and that they be followed up by the right persons - so far as we were able to do.

"I was quite busy with editing another issue of Szozat (Solemn Appeal) This was the day on which a cease-fire was worked out in part with our help. But there was still some bloody fighting.

"Next day (Oct. 29th) I spent most of the day in activities similar to those of the last two days. We were quite concerned over the fact that in spite of the agreement between the Hungarian Government and the Russian headquarters, a last ditch effort was made to crush the forces of the revolution. There was a particular heavy fight at the Corvin Theatre and the Kilian Barracks.

"We planned to publish "Szozat" daily and we also planned to publish a weekly paper. This took quite a part of my efforts to get these underway and organized and we also organized help for the three radio Győr's. I was quite busy in that as well.

"The Small Holder's Party negotiated with Tildy and Tildy and L<sub>m</sub>re Nagy negotiated with the Russians, demanding their withdrawal. The leader of the Russian negotiations was Mikoyan.

"We were greatly helped in these negotiations by "we" (I mean the leadership of the Small-Holder's Party) We were helped by the fact that popular demand that Parties of 1945 became so vigorous that this demand first formulated and announced on the 22nd became now one of the most clearly pronounced and repeated demands of the revolution. This demand appeared among many other things - I mean above all - resolutions of Worker's Councils - also on posters which spread all over the city.

"Next day (Oct. 30th) looked similar to the previous days so far as my activities were concerned. I was anxious to follow-up all the happenings and developments, not only in the city but throughout the nation. There were still outstanding groups, let alone individual leaders of the revolution, but I found it most significant that demands of Worker's Councils in Csepel, of Miskolc, and of Győr all looked the same. This indicated to me quite clearly that the country was politically mature and that democracy had the most fertile soil imaginable as I always hoped and maintained.

"I can't and am no more anxious to say everything in clear sequence, I just indicate the major events that I was part of, or that happened to me;

"I went over to the Writer's Association to persuade them to help keep the revolution clean by issuing appeals to the nation that we safeguard the clean record of the revolution and not let passions win the upper hand.

"As we talked over the conditions of the forming a "Small Holder's Party" we received news from the government that the Peasant Party should be formed. I took the stand that only one large Party should be organized representing the peasants of the country.

"I tried to contribute to the crystallization of a new development by a great many negotiations in several committees and places - one of those was the Szövetség (National Assn. of Cooperatives) I was invited to participate in negotiations on conferences in a top organization which was then under formation, Nation-wide National Committee, which was to be top representing all revolutionary councils and national, worker's councils, and all which really were the same and only named differently.

"We received news that Dudas had conquered the press and the Bldg. of Szabad Nép with his group of freedom fighters and that they issued an ultimatum which demanded the participation of representatives from cities and towns in the country. This aforementioned nation-wide committee was supposed to be it - the top organization of all of these organizations.

"The first task I tried to help form in our consciousness was to prevent that atrocities happen when the Russians withdraw. The second one was the formation of a government consisting of three parties.

"It was in midst of such negotiations that I received news from the radio about the withdrawal of the Russians which was impending, and that was supposed to take place on the next day at noon.

"Now I thought that the time had arrived for negotiations on the highest level. I went to the Parliament Building and talked to Minister Erdel and Minister Tildy. I also participated in negotiations with the Social Democratic Leaders - Kethly, Fischer and Kelemen. Our negotiations were concluded by one with Imre Nagy. During my negotiations with Imre Nagy, he issued ~~me~~ permission to occupy the old party headquarters Building for the Small Holder's Party.

"The next two days (Oct. 30, 31st) were also spent by negotiations. Most of my time was spent with the Small Holder's Party, and we decided to take part in a Co-alition government, and I talked very much at the office of the Nation-wide National Committee on the ways how we could achieve the formation of a Co-alition government.

"Part of my negotiations were carried out with the Forces of Law and Order which were formed in those days, and ~~somebody~~ made an agreement that the controls should consist of a freedom fighter, a policeman and a soldier. We worked out details of these plans and everything was shaping up very well.

"In my talks with Dudas, I made an agreement with him that we are going to supply journalists for his paper.

"Joseph Kovago, Lord Mayor of Budapest, was another person with whom I had several talks in those days. I was often in the Parliament Bldg. particularly conducting negotiations concerning the Forces of Law and Order. In all of these conferences, we were very anxious to prevent any influence of the extreme right - anything faintly resembling Fascist influence was excluded very carefully. We were also very anxious to see that these Forces of Law and Order functioned efficiently so as to prevent the taking of personal revenge.

"In order to prevent personal revenges and any excesses we achieved, and I had my part in it, that orders were issued that all members of the AVO should report and should be taken into custody.

"It was in these days (Oct. 30th -31st) that we started setting up promissory committees that were to become the basis of the Small Holder's Party.

41-M  
HLA

III/29

"I held my speech in the name of the Peasant Assn. in the evening of Oct. 31st.

"I observed through the negotiations, as well as through many reports, radio etc. that the confidence of the nation pretty well rested with those leaders who emerged in those days.

"I will now give a summary of the few of the highlights which were important in my activities in the next ~~three~~<sup>two</sup> days (Nov. 1, 2, 3). I will not try to put them in the right sequence - just mention them more or less at random:

"It looked as if we really managed to secure public order ~~by the Forces of Law and Order~~ by the Forces of Law and Order. There was one AVO lynching on Nov. 1st, which, however, was provoked by AVO. When the Russians actually withdrew, public order consolidated. In addition to all the concerns I have spoken about during the last two days, we had one great concern - one, of course was the British-French attack of the Suez Canal Zone. The other was the representation of Hungary in the United Nations. There was a suggestion that Kethly should be the representative and I learned that Imre Nagy wanted to go himself but first he wanted to settle things about the final withdrawal of the Russians.

"I was deeply and profoundly alarmed by the Anglo-French attack on Suez, and in addition to this news I was gravely concerned over the Russian troop movements which were reported now from more and more places within Hungary and they seemed to be confirmed beyond the shadow of a doubt. On the 2nd and on the 3rd, I spent a great deal time listening to the radio, and learning more about the developments.

"I learned that during the night of the 2nd, the Russians completely encircled Budapest, and I was very much worried about this news and talked again and again with friends and in the negotiations I mentioned the fact again and again, and I heard others mention it, but we trusted the Moscow Declaration which to the effect that they recognized that they had to find a new approach to the situation in the satellites and that they would withdraw their forces. I found consolation in the fact that the Soviet Union probably would be afraid of the consequences if it attacked again.

"But I observed that the atmosphere was that of joy. People were busy cleaning the streets. "No matter what happened, we'll work 16 hours a day until the country is built up" people said again and again. Writers and artists were producing like never before - great works of literature and art - Jubilant crowds were in the streets and the entire picture of Budapest was that of elation and exuberance. The exceptions were only leaders like I who feared the disastrous consequences of Suez, and who took the news of Russian troop movements very seriously.

"On the 3rd of Nov., I learned that Imre Nagy was very busy talking with other satellite representatives, and urging that the Russians had to leave the country. I, myself, talked with Imre Nagy on several occasions and with Tildy, and I learned from them that military negotiations with the Russians were proceeding and progressing - they told me. I even learned the details from them, for instance, that the Russians asked for a restoration of the Russian war memorials, and for farewell speeches when they left.

"Actually, all day on Nov. 3rd, I was part of a conference held by agricultural experts in the Peasant Assn. premises - most urgent agricultural matters.

"During this I was in permanent connection with Imre Nagy, and this is how I talked with him on several occasions.

"At the conference of the Executive Committee of the Small Holder's Party, we discussed the matter of the withdrawal of the Russians and the likelihood of their impending attack. Even after the conference was over, I still said that the Russians might still attack.

"After midnight (Nov. 4th) I took a long walk with Lord Mayor Kovago and others of the Small Holder's Party leadership. It was about two a.m. that we called Imre Nagy's office and learned that negotiations were progressing well with the Russian High Command.

"Now I was so exhausted that I went home to bed. In part worried about the Russian movements and in part, hoping, because of the reports I just received.

"I was awakened after four a.m. by a terrible battle noise. I immediately knew what it meant. I tried to call Imre Nagy office but the line was busy again and again. I expected news and opened the radio and heard Imre Nagy, and later the proclamation of the Assn. of Hungarian Writers. At once, the radio was silent. I phoned widely all around the city, and half an hour later, one friend from Póssonyi Ut (Póssonvi Ave.) He reported that tanks were pouring into the city for more than an hour and they were heading toward the Parliament Bldg.



"Another and tragic phone call came later to the effect that white flags were in the windows of the Parliament and an army of tanks surrounded it.

"I left for Pest. By then I found the Margit Bridge sealed off. I went back home and tried to listen to Western radio stations. I heard the events of which I knew anyway, and no move on the side of the UN that could have prevented the Russians from continuing and carrying out their re-conquest of Hungary.

"I heard from the Sender radio station that Kadar's proclamation was announced and I saw that he made that proclamation in the name of four persons.

"I went back to the city and met soldiers who came without arms and told me that they were discharged and that they had been at the Ministry of Defense and others at the Parliament Bldg. and I heard from them how the Russian attack took place: Tanks rolled up to the walls of the Defense Ministry and the Parliament, they said, and resistance would have been completely useless and senseless. The Russians jumped from the tanks, they said, with machine guns and pushed into the buildings.

"It was about eleven a.m. that I heard wild shooting from the direction of the Margit Bridge, which lasted for half an hour. I wondered what the cause was and whether there was still armed resistance.

"After the shooting was over, I went to the Margit Korut (Circlesway) in Buda, and saw terrible destruction everywhere. The steeple of the Franciscan Church was badly damaged. I saw particularly much destruction at the Szell Kalman Sq. and the Szena Sq. I spoke to many people, and eyewitnesses said that the Russian tanks came off the bridge and wrought destruction upon house after house-- building after building. Most people, I was told, now fled to the air raid shelters.

"From these talks, the pattern of Russian attack became quite clear in my mind: tanks rolled while systematically shooting up every bldg. they passed.

"Now the rest of the day was pretty quiet. It was only at sunset that the freedom fighters got themselves organized again. The clatter of machine guns was loud again, and rifle fire clearly distinguishable all over town. Tank guns replied. Curfew was ordered but Budapest was just a plain battleground and no curfew orders could be put into effect.

"Back at home, my family pleaded with us, with tears in their eyes, not to stay at home because I would certainly be dragged away. I should go into hiding they told us.

"By next day (Nov. 5th) Buda was also organized for resistance. The main point of resistance in our area became the Kiscelli Varkastely (The Castle of Kiscelli). Another strong point became Martinovics Hegy (Martinovics Hill). Still another one was Kis Svabhagy. Still another was the Zsiros Hegy (Hill).

"Worker's Councils didn't leave their places, but were eager to organize Plant Guards and were preparing to run the plants by themselves. I saw this going on, for instance, in old Buda. I kept going around and listening and seeing. I saw soldiers who complained that they didn't have enough ammunition, - otherwise, they would continue the fight, and they hoped they could hold out. I talked to ~~backwards~~ artillery soldiers who were aiming their guns against the Russian tanks at the bridgeheads and at Parliament. I heard many stories about heroic resistance on the part of freedom fighters. I heard for instance on the Blesi Ut (Vienna Ave.) a Russian tank was paralyzed by hand grenades and that the Russian soldiers were captured.

"As I went to the Kiscelli Varkastely, I helped those freedom fighters build up a nest of resistance. With the help of other civilians and bystanders, we pushed a tank up to the hill (a captured Russian tank which was unable to crawl any longer) we pushed it up and stood it up in position. Wherever I went I saw more and more and longer and longer queues - particularly in front of bakery shops.

"Stories of heroic resistance on part of young boys and others were circulating around town, and I had no reason to doubt their validity because reliable reports from people who saw oft and destroyed tanks came in one after the other.

"Now I don't try to make a real difference in the sequence of events of Nov. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9th. I will talk at random about things that occurred in these days.

"As a matter of course, one of my main concerns was to learn good news from Western radio stations. It was in such an effort that I often listened to Radio Free Europe. It was either on the 5th or 6th, I think, that I heard very clearly pronounced in one of the commentaries something like: "If the freedom fighters could hold out for two or three more days, until the Presidential elections are over, America's power would be untied and the entire situation could change. Things could take another turn." -- and I think that such more Hungarian blood was spilled because so many people took this as a very clear indication of impending help to Hungary, and they thought it was worth spilling their blood because liberation was impending.

"I indeed expected the Presidential elections and expected the announcement with such anxiety and such ops. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"It was still on the 7th of November that I personally saw Russians shooting at random, at building in Zsigmond Sq. and I also saw hit-and-run freedom fighters approaching them and shooting the Russians one by one. I even saw the Russians fleeing.

"In these days, on the 7th and 8th, freedom fighters still had much of the situation under their control, I observed, and I had first-hand knowledge of the fact that the City Council still kept cooking for the freedom fighters.

"It was either on the 7th, or the 8th, if I recall correctly, that I heard President Eisenhower's press conference: "We didn't encourage small nations to rise in an uprising against overwhelming odds..." This was my first real bitter disillusionment, but it was a bitter disillusionment not only to me but to most Hungarians, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ There were people who grew so bitter that they desperately said: "These Americans are scoundrels themselves because they don't lift a finger to help us in our mortal fight; the day will come when they will have to fight the Russians themselves."

"It was in those days, it seems to me, on Nov. 8th and 9th, moved to

withdraw to the mountains.

"On the 9th, I left myself. I walked to the Buda Hills and I witnessed a fight between freedom fighters and Russian army units on Harmashatar hegy and Zeircoshhegy (hill). It was still on the 9th, that I arrived in Pesthidegkut. Next morning (Nov. 10th) I went to Solymer, and I witnessed how a freedom fighter was buried with all the pomp his comrades could afford and even most of the population of Solymer.

"I wanted to talk to the Council of the Town. When I was looking for the Chairman, people asked me if I wanted to talk to the new or the old Chairman. First I met the old Council Chairman and he told me that he was happy that he got rid of the chairmanship and he also told me that the Party Secretary of the town, fled, and he confided to me that he would like to forget that he ever was a Council Chairman (of course the old Council chairman was chairman during Communism). The New Council Chairman, I learned, was also preparing to flee to the West, as I was.

"I continued my way and in Pilisszentivan, I saw a well-organized miner's guard, and I couldn't help thinking what a happy, democratic country we would have had had this disaster not come about...

"I went to Dorog, another mining town, and found that the miner's were still striking and determined to keep striking.

"It was in Komárom that I got on a train. I stopped at Győr to get information and then continued my way by train to the border station, Hegyeshalom.

"Thank God I managed to get across the border on November 11th into Austria.

"But I should add that it was on three occasions while I was heading for the West that I decided to turn back because I thought that I was one of the officers of the ship of our nation and that they should not abandon ship when it is in danger. I had learned that it was the rats which first fled from a sinking ship, and I didn't want to be such a cowardly person who leaves when things get tough.

A. The demonstrations:

Respondent has told us in detail his knowledge and expectations of the demonstrations when he first learned about them, and he has told us details about what he did during the demonstrations and what others did. All of these facts are vividly described in his account on what happened to him.

He also described his feelings quite elaborately.

Asked what he wanted the government to do then, he answers:

"On October 23rd, the actual issue was the demands of the college and university youth of Budapest as detailed in their sixteen points of demand. Actually, I should begin by explaining this by telling you that in the evening of Oct. 22nd, a friend of mine brought to me the sixteen points and also showed me the demands of Szeged University youth. As you know, actually the voicing of these demands started in Szeged, at the University where you and I started working for establishing a working democracy in Hungary. It was only at that meeting with this friend that I learned about the new movement of college and university youth. I carefully read the points of demand, but my friend remarked that these points actually represented a new step of DISZ. ~~xxxx~~ This friend of mine, in fact, was ready to dismiss these demands as nothing in particular. I, however, took a different stand. I told him that to me those demands looked very strong and I told him that they looked substantial to me. It's another question I remarked of how much of them can be accomplished. I also told him that I could clearly see the great influence of the Polish events in setting up these points and in the wording of these demands. Youth, as usual, I told him, does not respect reality and puts its demands into words as it comes from the heart. It keeps its eyes on the actual goals."

Still continuing his answer to the question I posed above, respondent goes on saying: "At that time, I considered them demands directed at the government, I thought of them that they were unrealistically strong and bold, but at the same time, I thought they were very significant as I thought that if youth sets forth demands as boldly as I saw them and with such a tremendous force in its desire to see them accomplished, the government would be compelled to give in. I speculated that the government could find two ways for curbing these demands. It ought to recognize, I thought, that with the methods it had used until then it could no more silence the ring leaders because this movement by then apparently held under its impact the entire university and college youth. Thus, I thought, it had only two ways to see this movement peter out. One would be by using trickery by making ~~some~~ concessions, thus satisfying youth and not carrying out those concessions at all - or only to a degree so as not to amount to anything. The other way could be was to enter into an agreement granting concessions of some modest extent, which however would bear in themselves the development further. This is about how my reasoning went at that time. I thought that the demands would certainly have consequences to the effect that the

Stalin-Rakosi era would ~~not~~ end, and Imre Nagy would take over, who already in 1953 had a temporary and kind of National Communism. Now, I figured that this would be the case again and that some form of National Communism would come about under the leadership of Imre Nagy. In other words, I hoped that Imre Nagy would lean on the ~~existing~~ democratizing of the authors of the Petofi Circle and of youth. This is what I had in mind on Oct. 22nd. "

Still continuing the explanation of what he wanted the government to do, respondent goes on saying: "When on Oct. 23rd, I left the place where I worked and went out to the streets, I quite definitely felt that sentiments were so profoundly awakened that the atmosphere was revolutionary - in fact, I might say, that I had the feeling that those were the beginnings of a revolution - a revolution could be settled only, I thought, if one of those in power assumes leadership of the revolution. This is what I pondered. The main demand, the only actual demand was that Imre Nagy assume leadership of the country. All demands actually were tending to forcing the hand of the government to put Imre Nagy in power. The substantial demands were closely connected with this and the rest of the demands only symbolic. I listened to the crowd in the evening of Oct. 23, and I heard them demand Imre Nagy for periods as long as half an hour. I am referring to the demonstrations at Parliament Square. ~~xxxx~~

"I, myself, did not see any other person either. I wasn't able to see anyone else for this change in the government. When, at long last, the crowd managed to see its demands fulfilled - mainly that Nagy speak to them - when he stepped to the balcony of the Parliament, he was received with an indescribable ovation. However, when he finished his speech, he caused great disillusionment in people, including me. I started pondering of course, what was the reason for his speaking with such hesitation. I, of course, discovered a quite obvious reason right away and that was fear. Fear of what might it might develop into - at that time, we knew nothing yet of Russian troop movements. This tremendous question mark haunted us behind everything that happened. We wondered "what about the Russians?" We wondered what their reactions to Hungarian events would be. We didn't know much about the behaviour of Russian troops and Russian policy in Warsaw either during those days - we had no accurate information. The Hungarian press did not reveal that Russian divisions were deployed in the Warsaw area as a consequence of the stirring of the Poles. Thus the Polish events did not provide us to come to any definite conclusions. I, however, thought right away that the AVO were on the spot in the Parliament Building but I wanted to be sure of this - thus I went to the main entrance of Parliament and I found it locked, but I saw through the window that there were a considerable number of plain clothes AVO, as well as armed AVO in uniform in the building."

Thus respondent is answering not only to the question but also to the next coming question of what he thought would be the probable outcome, and now we try to concentrate on this point:

"I thought that this determined revolutionary crowd would sweep away right that night Gero and his Cabinet, and I thought that his would inevitably bring with itself that Imre Nagy would be entrusted with heading the Cabinet and his associates would come with him like Gera Laszlo. I also hoped the Russians would realize this and they would not insist on imposing anyone else. The main argument in my mind was the fact that Russians had brought Imre Nagy already in 1953 under such compelling circumstances, and I thought that now under the impact of the force of this revolutionary crowd, they would have to give in. I also expected that demands would grow with time, but I thought that Imre Nagy would be able to handle the situation. I anticipated some unrest in the next few days from revolutionary moves, but I thought that in the long run, evolution would take place of revolution - I mean evolution toward freedom and democracy that would finally lead to just that."

Since respondent has already described who the demonstrators were, I concentrate now on asking him who the leaders of the demonstrations were, and he answers: "It is actually very difficult to speak of leadership of the demonstrations. There were no actual leaders and there was no organization. Ingenious and inventive people made the slogans. They became kind of cheer leaders not only for the period while the crowd liked that certain slogan - perhaps that slogan was carried on for considerable time, and perhaps it was dropped after a few minutes. First only the people surrounding such a person (incidentally surrounding him!) repeated the slogan and after him and took it away with him, and if that was to the liking of the larger crowd that followed suit. Sometimes a slogan sounded on one side of the crowd and perhaps simultaneously another one on the other side, and they came in waves approaching other and colliding perhaps in the middle of the crowd. The one which was more to the liking of the crowd at that very moment won out and was then repeated by the entire crowd."

Remembering a few mass demonstrations, respondent and I had taken part in while during our student years at the University of Szeged in which I was a leader, and he a participant, I asked whether those demonstrations resembled one another in character and whether I was right in likening the birth of slogans to the birth of folk songs of ages, referring mainly to the fact that the author does not claim authorship and in fact is anxious to hide his being the author because he hopes that remaining in anonymity his creation would be received more warmly and carried on by the crowd. Respondent answers that he thinks exactly the same, and that it has been his observation that my question is justified and he can answer 100% "yes". He adds that the psychological impact of the crowd are greatly influencing the individual in his creative words and he explains the mutual character of these impacts and influences. He goes on saying: "It is always the more

41-M  
HLR

III/38

vivid one, the more dynamic one, the more substantial one, the more witty one is the one who is adopted by the crowd. Of course, there were persons in the crowd who were considered at that time of going too far by the rest of the crowd: "Demands like the Russians should clear the country!" were received with caution by the others. Such daring slogans were sounded only by parts of the crowd - the entirety adopted only demands which were considered in the scales of political maturity in the crowd as being more crystallized, clearer pronounced and particularly representing more actual political dynamics. There were some extraneous demands but none of those had anti-semitic character. There was not one anti-semitic slogan and not an incidental one. Neither then nor later did I hear any of that nature in demonstrations, nor has been brought to my attention."

Probed further whether there was not still some amount of arrangement on the side of University and college youth, respondent answers: "The crowd again and again demanded megaphones, loud speakers because the speeches of those who addressed the crowd from the steps of the Parliament were not audible in the Square proper. The crowd demanded repeatedly: "Loud speakers! Loud Speakers!" At one point a loud speaker station-wagon appeared with artillery officers in the driver's seat and when it appeared it had an awful hard time in the very closely packed and jammed crowd to find and worm its way to the steps of the Parliament to be of some help. This was some measure of organization, namely there participation, which was not requested but by the crowd. Those artillery officers, in all likelihood had participated in the demonstrations before, saw the plight and went to the barracks and then took their equipment back with them. Unfortunately their equipment was not sufficiently powerful to help the entire crowd listen to the speeches. Another sign of some measure of organization was this: there were several trucks standing at the edges of the crowd ~~in the~~ on Parliament Square and they were mainly students and also working youth standing on those trucks and they sounded slogans which apparently had been developed at the demonstrations around the Ben Statue."

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B.

The Fightings: Asked about his own feeling during the fighting, respondent answers: "When the second phase of the fight - the somewhat organized phase of the fight for the radio station started in the evening of Oct. 23rd, that is to say when larger amounts of arms and ammunition arrived on trucks, my feeling that the fight which the government picked was assumed by the Hungarian people. It could not help doing so. Essentially I believe the determination to fight it out developed in the minds of people when they



first heard that students were shot to death. My very personal feeling was that I was anxious to get some weapon to get into my hands, but as I looked around at that time there were no weapons that anyone would have given away because everybody who managed to lay his hand on one stuck to his guns. That was one factor and another factor was of course that my wife, as most other wives, tried to dissuade me from ~~going~~ taking up arms. It was only later that I made the resolution not to fight with arms because if I were captured that would considerably harm the reputation of the revolution because I had been a-- although only political - but still a prisoner and Communists liked to point always to the fact in any plot, or alleged conspiracy that there were persons involved who had been "criminals".

Asked whether he had had any feelings of fear, respondent answers: "There was some instinct of fear in me which on one hand pushed me away from the fight, on the other hand it also attracted me. That became quite a pulling force. I didn't have a feeling at that time which I would have been able to put into words but it was something like this - I had the feeling that I could by no means leave the site, of these events. I had the feeling that I must not deprive myself of from something tremendously great. I had the feeling that I had to go through that experience exactly like the people around me. When, upon the persuasion of my wife, we retreated to the steps of the University, I was attracted again and again to go out at least to the corner, but even more to be part of the crowd that was exposed to flying bullets. There was even a period when I seriously tried to get arms for myself but at that certain period there were none available. Perhaps that fact contributed decisively to my having enough time to think it over and to decide not to take up arms. In fact, there was such a shortage of arms that I witnessed when a soldier actually wrung a rifle from the hand of a boy about 13 or 14 yrs. old, but be sure the boy resisted fiercely. That soldier was in uniform. I also was missed when one man came with a sub machine gun in his hand and two ~~business~~ students were so overjoyed seeing that this man came with a more serious type of a weapon to participate in the fight that they ran to him, hugged him and kissed him." (Interviewer's note; kisses among men are rare in Hungary and such moments of extreme elation are probably the only occasion for such). "Whoever happened to become part of the actual fight was under the impact of such a magnetic force - immense sufferings -- fears and humiliations of a number of years - the bottled up feeling connected with such experiences were freed in an explosion. I could liken it to the burst of a dam. ~~When~~ When the water is

reaching the highest point of the dam, it can keep flowing on for a protracted period but if once at one point the dam gives in, there is no human force to hold up the power of the water that is streaming through that. Our psychological condition was very like that. The fear disappeared and there was no more pondering on what would happen to me tomorrow - whether I die or not - not even the terror of what would happen following these events - nothing more than to go and to fight it out - to get rid of those who kill our best sons."

Asked what he thought the outcome of the revolution would be at the time when the fight was on, respondent answers: "To tell you quite frankly during the fight one doesn't think much of that - not when the actual combat was on. I had to go away a little distance from the actual combat to start thinking about these considerations. In fact, I really began real contemplation when we were going home. Then I was terribly worried what the Russians might and would do. How could ten million win against the power that is backed up by a 200 million people at the moment. Although I didn't know where they were at that time, I kind of felt their presence. All throughout the years I felt and sensed they were present even though they were not visible at all times, and I had always the feeling that if the hour of reckoning would come, they would smash down. In fact, I had constantly the feeling that they were expecting the moment when to smash at ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ us."

This was respondent's reaction to the government's calling for Russian troops: "I was tremendously shocked, and I had some very definite misgivings about the name of Lure Nagy with which calling in was connected. My doubt was stronger than the assertions of the government and I didn't believe it; in fact, I didn't refute it in my mind but I was pondering in my mind whether he as a person was able to withstand the compelling force with which I am sure they wanted him to call for the troops. In fact, I am quite sure that they did it at gun point."

Probed as to who he thought might have been responsible, respondent says: "I have no doubt that it was Gero and Hegedus - the Stalinists, and I also thought of Piroc but above all I suspected Gero. It was he who made that infamous speech to the population."

Asked how the demonstrations turned into fighting, respondent answered: "There were two things which could have prevented the demonstrations from turning into fighting. One was the speech of Gero. If he had not delivered that speech or had made it in a form speaking nicely and tactfully about the students and telling that they might have some exaggerated views but nevertheless we consider them seriously, etc., even this could have led to reconciliation. Of course, it would have been wiser for him not to speak at all because his person itself was hateful to the population. The real wise thing would have been to make Imre Nagy speak over the radio. Another wise decision would have been to let the delegation of the students into the radio building and to negotiate with them in a sensible manner. They could have even persuaded them to backdown ~~some~~ on several of their points. For that, I am sure they would have given in to the pressure of the government. They could have persuaded the delegation, I'm sure, to alter several of their points and reword a few and even to leave out some. In other words, if the regime would have been considerate enough to give in on the substantial demands, just by saying that Party Central Committee is in session and that the Cabinet is considering changes and in all likelihood Imre Nagy would become the Premier. Had they acted this way they could have channeled the emotions of the people into peaceful approaches. People would have gone to bed with hopeful expectations for the next day."

Asked when the term "freedom fighter" first was heard by respondent, he answered: "If I can recall it right, it was on the 25th that I heard it... as I tried to think back, I remember I had heard it already in the evening of the 24th. Even I scribbled the slogan "Long live our heroic freedom fighters!" with chalk on walls in the evening of Oct. 24th, but I cannot remember anymore where I first heard this term. On the evening of the 24th, however, this word - this term was everywhere."

Asked who fought and during which periods, respondent says: "The fighters came from all walks of life but at the Radio Bldg. where the fight actually started there were mainly students (from bot academy and industrial schools) and young workers. There were also soldiers and a small number of policemen among the fighters on the evening of the 23rd. Most of those who held out in the fight and persevered ~~throughout~~ throughout the revolution were also students and young workers."

Asked how and when they got arms, he answers: "I remember the case of the first seizure of arms on Oct. 23rd, when I arrived at the radio station, I found things at a stage when the AVO had already fired at the crowd and young people came back from the first rows they told excitedly what had happened. They were particularly concerned about the dead and stopped trucks demanding: "Let's go to Csepel and let's get arms!". There were as many volunteers for each truck as people could be jammed in. Others said "Let's go out to Vörösvári Ut (Avenue) because I know where the arms depot is over there!" The military unit that was ordered wipe out the resistance at the Radio Bldg. didn't have much ammunition, but they had rifles and sub machine guns and they either handed them over to the demonstrators or part of them even sided with them. I witnessed that myself. It was at dawn that I heard that they also managed to get arms from the Arms and Machine factory at Pesterzsébet. I also got the news that they managed arms and ammunition from Timot Street Arms and Ammunition Depot. I also learned that they actually managed to get arms and ammunition from Csepel. I also learned that there were freedom fighter groups which right during the first night (Oct 23-24) attacked arms depots that were ~~xxx~~ guarded by AVO men. They disarmed the guards and seized arms and ammunition."

Asked how the freedom fighters were organized, respondent gives this answer: "In the evening of Oct. 23, there were no leaders whatsoever. Leaders developed only in the course of the fighting in subsequent days. Person who happened to be efficient just kind of grew to be leaders. The ones who had the initiative to give orders and whose orders proved to be considerate and workable and circumspect. This is how Szabo Bacsi (Uncle Szabo) became the leader of the group in Széna Sq. He was not the first one to take up fighting in that area. There were three young boys who started the actual fight at that point in the city. In fact Szabo Bacsi arrived there only at night, but his personality was so dominant he told the students and young workers to get going "You boys do this..this has to be placed here..this has to be placed there!" and the like so that he was accepted as a leader. During the entire freedom fight, there were only voluntary leaders. There were absolutely none imposed from above. Leaders were either recognized or they were ~~rejected~~ not. Kiscelli Varkastely, a former army officer took over command acting like

this: "Boys, I have just come from Szena Sq. I have come to organise resistance here. I warn everybody from the beginning that now everybody may consider and reconsider whether he should take part in the fight, but the ones who stay will be under discipline... under military discipline... that means that we voluntarily accept it, if we do, but from then on, we will have placed ourselves under military discipline and the ones who leave their posts, after they have become freedom fighters will be dealt with just like in a military situation in a great emergency." I don't mean to imply that this was the pattern but in fact, in most cases, it wasn't half as formal as this one was, but in order to illustrate various kinds I thought of this example of which I have first hand knowledge. In fact, in most places, not even such a "briefing" was necessary. ~~Some~~ Summarily, I may say that leaders naturally developed."

C. The re-invasion: Respondent has already told us in detail how he spent the days between the time of the Soviet withdrawal and the time of the re-invasion - in his account of chronological events. Asked what he thought would happen when the Red army had begun its retreat, he says: "First of all I thought that they realized that they could not fight with their troops against the entire population of the country; at the same time, I suspected that they withdrew as delayed tactics as they must gain time to get reinforcements because the troops committed to combat were demoralized and because they wanted more material supplies as well. I was dreading that some trickery would follow the withdrawal move. However, later when the high-level negotiations got under way between Hungarian government representatives and representatives of the Russian Military High Command, I spoke to one of the persons who participated in those negotiations on the Hungarian side for Imre Nagy - I am referring to Erdei - and I questioned him - in fact I gave him very critical questions - this was on Monday (Oct. 29th) and he assessed the situation, stating that the ~~the~~ steps undertaken by the Russians were sincere; in fact, he explicitly stated that he thought that not only their withdrawal which was slated for the next day, but also their approval of a multi-party system was sincere. I asked him what he thought prompted them to assume such an attitude and he answered like this: "Mikoyan and the Russians are boiling mad at Rakosi in the first place and at Gero in the second place, because they hold these persons responsible for the deterioration of the situation in Hungary. They agree very reluctantly but they consent to the withdrawal by their own decision because they realize there is no other avenue open to resolving the situation. They can consolidate the

situation, they thought, only by resurrecting the type of government that was in power in 1945. This decision is not sincere on their part to the extent that they wished such a development, but it is sincere in realizing that there is no other way out."

"Since next day (Oct. 30th) simultaneously with withdrawal of Russian troops, the Moscow Declaration was made public in the evening, and was announced over the radio and that seemed to indicate to us clearly that the Russians were actually realizing how serious the situation was and they feared lest all of East Europe would be revolutionized - stirred by the Hungarian example - and I thought that they preferred to find a modus vivendi, I thought they were finding a way to withdraw without too much loss of their prestige and one which would not be enforced by constantly groups of freedom fighters, but would be orderly and dignified. I thought that the Moscow Declaration had a prime significance in the fact that they were indeed ready to base their further relations with the Eastern European nations on a different foundation than heretofore. I thought that they would make a strong agreement with the new government similar to the one they had concluded with Finland which recognized the neutral status of Finland. I thought that such a solution would be possible and I thought that the Soviet's were really seeking such a way out of the very difficult situation. I also expected that the Soviet Union would chain Hungary to itself economically so that Hungary could not break away, and become an integral part of the West - but within the country I hoped that the essential freedoms would be secured for the population and that it would be possible to develop a permanent workable democracy."

Asked when he first heard that the withdrawal had been halted, he answers: "The first news arrived on N. v. let from the border station Zahony that a number of troops had crossed over the border. When the first news arrived, the Cabinet dealt with this problem immediately and we urged them to take vigorous action. In fact, this first serious move on the part of the Russians prompted the Cabinet to take steps in a rapid succession which otherwise would not have followed at that rate of speed, such as the renunciation of the Warsaw Pact, the Declaration of Neutrality, and the placing the country under the protection of the UN and even pleading for its help. In other words, the Cabinet considered the Russian troop movements as a provocative step, as they actually were, and they had no other answer to those provocative steps but to find recourse."

Asked when he first saw the Soviet troops returning, he answered: "I didn't see them until noon of Nov. the 4th, but of course I kept abreast of the developments because I received detailed information during the previous days.

"Asked about the major lines of his activities from the time of the Red Armies return to the time of his escape, respondent gives this account. "Since I was in Buda that time and could not easily move around, I was anxious to establish contact with those with whom I had worked politically..telephone lines were operating but scarcely, and this is why my attempt didn't succeed. Then I assumed the attitude of an observer, but on the second day I participated in organizing resistance in Buda. I am referring to armed resistance. At the same time I very anxious to regularly listen to broadcasts of Western radio stations. We tried to assess what the reaction to the second aggressive step of the Russians was in the West. In fact, the Security Council and later the General Assembly was called into session and that the Hungarian question was put on its agenda, and particularly the commentary of RFK to the effect that the Presidential election is the very reason why no active practical steps were undertaken but if the results of the election be known it might be that serious political steps may follow. These political steps, the commentary went on, could change the situation in Budapest. When after a week it became impossible to keep on fighting against the Russians within the city limits because they recklessly destroyed houses of the population, the freedom fighters withdrew to the mountains of Buda and there they faced such an overwhelming force that organized resistance came soon impossible; also ammunition supplies were not secured in any way..This is why I proceeded to the West to find out why the support which had been promised ~~xxx~~ over a number of years, why this support did not materialize."

Asked when he began planning his escape, respondent replies: "Only on the 10th when we were forced out of Budapest."

D. Conclusion: Asked whether on the whole Hungary has gained because of the revolution, respondent reacted thusly: "Hungary has gained nothing visible in the time that has lapsed since the revolution. The visible signs indicate that the situation became much more difficult, and oppression much heavier than before, but in my opinion there is a positive sign to the picture as opposed to the aforementioned negative side. I can list the following gains: (1) It was the first revolution in history

in the so-called Socialist Camp. This revolution was clearly against Communism. It was not a counter-revolution but a real revolution, and the counter-revolution was constituted by the moves of the regime that tried to suppress this revolution. As such it put the entire regime to shame; it tore its mask from the hideous face it was hiding. This fact cannot be altered by even a terrific amount of very skillful propaganda on the part of the Soviet Union. It can change only very little in people's mind throughout the world about the truth.

(2) The other great positive consequence and result of the Hungarian revolution is the fact that the thinking of people throughout Eastern Europe was stirred, and not only throughout Eastern Europe but also throughout the Soviet Union and as far East as Communist China. This thinking and stirring of the imagination of people will permit their thinking to take new ways. They have been confronted by problems they cannot possibly dodge and which will divide the camp of the Soviet bloc and which might well lead to the abandonment of the Stalinist form of Communism and will seek other ways by relaxing terror and permitting great changes to happen in the structure of the regime. But these moves will clearly lead to a breach within the Communist Party. In my opinion, the Hungarian revolution stopped the ideological progress of Communism in Western Europe as well as in the neutral countries. Of course, the same things do not now affect Hungary. (3) The only thing that happened in favor of Hungary could be that the name and reputation of the Hungarian people is once more on the level on which it was after the 1848 revolution under the leadership of Kossuth. Now it is up to the Hungarian people to safeguard this reputation and to develop it by its signified attitude. (4) I cannot list it as a gain, only as a possible gain that I wish that the world would not forget the heroic sacrifices of the Hungarian people in the coming international negotiations and debates. (5) As another gain may be listed is the fact that since Hungary unmasked the outward, smiling but under the surface actually grim face, the Communist leaders - the free world realizes more than ever before that Communist foreign policy which is actually bent on world conquest, and which is unscrupulous in selecting its ways and means and tears down every bit of freedom wherever it can reach because it fears freedom more than anything else, will never sincerely follow the path of a peaceful co-existence. The actions of the Soviet Union clearly point to the fact that if it had enough power and if it were in a favorable position, it would without giving a second thought to it trample underfoot those nations which are not within its own domain but outside of it."



EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. Asked what he expected from the West during the revolution, he says:

"I expected it to be unified in the determination not to let the revolution and fight for freedom of a small nation be drowned in blood. I hoped that it would take every opportunity and every avenue of approach which does not provoke a ~~third~~ third world war and save this revolution and fight for freedom. I could explicitly and elaborately list on what this would have meant in the various phases. The attitude I would have expected of the West would have meant the following: On the 24th, when the first news arrived, ~~was~~ in the West which must have arrived either on the Nov. 4, or the 5th, which clearly gave an account of Soviet interference in Hungary's internal affairs, it ought to have realized that this was an issue which ought to have been put on the agenda and put on it immediately, of the Security Council of the UN. The United Nations should have established the fact that a war had broken out between the Hungarian people according to this realization and they should have taken action immediately and have had the Soviet used any resolution according to its veto power, it should have been transferred to the General Assembly and should have passed resolutions as outlined in such cases by its constitution. I also expected that the dismay and indignation that the West would be so strong that it would break out in great demonstrations and in blockade against the Soviet Union. I expected notes from the various governments as to the Soviet Union, and above all, unified action upon the parts of the government of the free world. In fact, such actions would have forced the Soviet Union's hand. It is not necessary to outline what actually happened. They convened only four days and even then they did not pass any resolution for they adjourned their session without a resolution. When the Hungarian resolution still won out in the resolution by generously spilling its blood - in spite of all of these facts, managed to win its freedom, the West ought to have employed every morally permissible means to save it from another Soviet attack. That they had such means at their disposal is clearly demonstrated by the developments that followed the Suez crisis, and the situation in the Middle East. The actions of the West, taken in the Suez crisis and in the Middle East clearly proved that the contention that every vigorous step toward the Hungarian Revolution would have arrived at a war is a hypocritical cover-up, because when the Middle East situation was on the agenda of the UN and the foreign Ministers of the Free World, there was no question raised and nobody pointed to the facts that these ends would end in a world war. Although ~~there~~ were

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Russian arms in Egypt and Russian advisors were present in Egypt as well as in the Middle East."

Asked on what basis he formed his expectations, respondent says: "The real and quite firm basis for this belief of mine was the conviction, or at least hope, that the West would adhere to the National agreements and would insist that International agreements are binding on every government that took part in bringing those agreements about, and I hoped that the West would see, and indeed, every party which had been a party to such an agreement would be compelled to those points of agreement which referred to the situation that developed. When the Soviet Union annihilated all points of the Yalta Agreement in Eastern Europe, faced the West with a great opportunity to see that and any other agreement enforced. I hoped that the West would be eager to see. But first of all, and above all, it was the points of the Warsaw agreement that had been forced upon the European countries by the Soviet Union that ought to have been carried out. If only those points of the Soviet Union, and Hungary and other Europeans had been carried out to the letter, the Hungarian revolution would have been saved. According to the Warsaw agreement, the Soviet Union had no right to interfere. More than that, the very peculiar situation actually developed that if the Warsaw Agreement had been carried out to the letter, the other East European Countries could have extended military help to Hungary when it was attacked by the Soviet Union on Oct. 24th. Of course it would utter naivety to expect East European Countries but we expected that the West would seize this opportunity to put a pressure on the other East European Countries and on the Soviet Union. I also expected that the announcements, messages and election programs of the responsible statesmen entrusted with the leading of the free nations are to be taken seriously - among them concerning the liberation of the Eastern European Nations. I didn't even dare to think, ~~and that~~ that would be let down by the free world because I had knowledge of a pronouncement of a ~~responsible~~ responsible statesman - a Secretary of State - which pronouncement had been made after the Berlin and the Poznan uprisings and was to the effect that in the future that if something of the same sort ever happened once more in Eastern Europe they would consider what active, practical steps should be taken to prevent that uprising from being crushed."

Probed as to who the Secretary of State was, respondent said it was Secretary Dulles and he heard this statement of his after the Polish uprisings.

Asked whether he came into contact with any foreigners between Oct. 23 and the time of his escape, he answers: "On Nov. 1st, I talked to Austrian newspapermen and West German newspaper men and a Red Cross delegation from the West, and a Swiss Newspaperman on the 2, and 3rd, of Nov. Asked what he heard of these, respondent said: "Generally speaking these

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people asked us questions, and usually were reluctant to answer any questions themselves. Anyway, journalists were understandably anxious to restrict their activities to only transmitting news."

## SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

### A. Family Background:

My father was a peasant. During the war, he had seven and a half acres of land. After the war, he received in course of the land reform, three more acres. He also had an house in which he lived in the village he worked as a peasant.

Respondent's father had six grades of elementary school, and so did his mother.

### B. Social Classes:

Asked what social classes there are in Hungary, respondent answered: "Labor, Peasants, Bourgeoisie. These three but of course the division lines are not sharp. They fluctuate and overlap a great deal. I do not consider intellectuals a class - a social class by itself - intellectuals, in my opinion, are not of social category - a social class - they are only occupations, jobs, professions, positions which have a character of an intellectual worker. But one doesn't just know if the management is acquired by a modern farm of 30-35 acres is not to be regarded as intellectual work, and I really wonder why writing is considered an intellectual job - when you think of the management of that farm...I have this question because I think that most of typing consists of copying or of just putting on paper what one is dictated, but hundreds and hundreds of other examples might be brought up, and my definition of intellectuals is not a social class but transcends social classes and every class has its own intellectual stratum, and people are intellectuals in this sense of the word not because of the completion of a certain amount of formal education, but are such because of their unusual talent - their contemplative view, and their moral criterion as well."

Probed into what category he thinks Communist leadership belongs, respondent says: "It is actually exploiting the upper layer in a Communist country. It is very much like the Capitalist layer of society in the 19th Cent. in Eastern Europe. Communist higher leadership and the police apparatus which is necessary for preserving it - and whose share in the national income is disproportionately larger than that of the upper layers in a Capitalist country with social institutions and social legislatures - it is in fact a savage layer of exploiters the like of which ~~never occurred~~ occurred only in the initial phase of Capitalism - the relentless, aggressive, Capitalist, upper layers of exploiters of those decades. This Communist upper crust is a new-fangled beginning and a quite vital layer. It is hungry and not satisfied at all and not yet decayed by power,

It is very much like the aforementioned thin layer of Capitalist exploiters of the initial phase of Capitalism with the following differences. That Capitalist layer in the 19th Century was powerful enough only in some certain areas - powerful enough to align itself with the local administration, but even where it aligned itself completely with the local administration, it was not so much in ~~strong~~ control of life and death as is Communist leadership in its system. Not only the highest leaders as were Rakosi and his accomplices enjoyed a luxury beyond description and above all a powerful organization distant to protect them and to serve them personally but a considerable number of lesser leaders and their share of power-of-wealth was much larger than any leading industrialist of the former system in Hungary. The statistical survey could bear out the facts which I just approximately outlined here. Take for instance the basic fact that the income of an AVO officer, or an AVO detective was ten to fifteen times the amount of income a first rate guild worker had in Communist Hungary. This layer has become Capitalistic in its thinking as well. This thinking was only dressed in the dress of Socialism and in the dress of Marxist-Stalinist - in fact quite mixed up ideology. It's a human attitude and its relations with problems were also Capitalistic to the extent that the Communist press tackled as early as 1956 problems like the fact that favorites of the regime - like AVO officers - were reluctant to have their children ~~xxxxxxx~~ educated in the same schools that other children frequented. The problem was well-written in the Communist press that the people cannot imagine that their children would be in a less favorable acceptable status. In fact, these most favored groups had special schools set aside by the government for their children. Irodalmi Újság was foremost in uncovering such facts. The analysis of their attitude and their conduct would be the interesting topic for a serious survey and study.

One of the most interesting aspects is that these people considered their exceptional status natural and perpetual. It was bent on solidifying its power and making it inheritable to its children in one way or another."

Respondent thus not only enumerated the classes in his conception but also characterized one of those. Now I asked him to describe what actual conduct he had with each of these social groups, and here is his answer:

"I am of peasant descent. My entire background, my childhood experiences,

my relatives all tie me to peasantry. I have experienced most profoundly and most vividly the problems of this social class. It's fate, its desires, its longings, its aspirations and its attitudes and its entire way of thinking and I had no outlook for leading this class for awhile, and I had an awfully hard time to get college education. It was quite interesting that in those decades many sons of daughters of peasants completely considered themselves from that social group after they completed college education and they assumed attitudes and the way of life of the middle-class. Many peasant parents were afraid of this - namely, that their children would cut themselves loose from them - mentally and psychologically - after they got college education, and this was a reason in many a family for not sending their children to college. They saw quite disheartening examples of this phenomenon of completely breaking - children from parents - because of the difference of social groups in which they found themselves after having acquired college education. I was really craving for a college education, but when I was told by my parents "Well, go and become a gentleman!" I had the profound mixed feelings about my severing myself from them as was expressed in this sentence and in similar ones. I mean their attitudes, their feelings that they feared I turn my back on them. This feeling remained with me throughout my studies at college and at the university and even in high school. When I was a student of 14 or 15 years of age, I kind of did not join the middle-class yet. I remained in my attitudes self-consciously outside of that class. I did not assume those attitudes nor did I assume the way of life of the middle-class, so as not to become unfaithful to my family and the peasantry, not even in appearance. . . . I became an intellectual because both my talents and my education determined that I become one, but I have never become a 100% member of the middle-class, nor would I have become one, but in those years - the 30's and the 40's - it was already possible, and one had a chance for rising above class divisions - the intellectual ferment of those years of which you and I were an active part in the Student Unity Movement played quite a part in the foundation and further development. One was ready in those years to become an intellectual without joining the typical middle-class of that era. . . . Through the courtesy of the Communist regime, I became a worker even during my years in prison - for a while at least - and certainly after my prison term was over. I became an industrial worker - first and unskilled one, and later on a skilled one. Now I came to familiarize myself with the problems

- the way of life- the way of thinking of this class of workers -with that of industrial labor - problems I had known only from the outside. In years of common work, I really familiarized myself with their longings, their way of life, their attitudes, the social structure of that group - their entire way of thinking and way of life. The way of life of that segment of the urban life - getting socially acquainted with this group was a great experience for me. Thus, I may truthfully say that I profoundly experienced the ways of life and the ways of thinking of peasantry of labor and of the intellectuals as well."

Asked for his opinion about peasantry, respondent has this to say: "Peasantry underwent great changes in the last decade. Apocalyptic times- eruptions of ~~social~~ and political life like those of lava from volcanoes make tremendous changes possible within short periods of time. A social class may make a very rapid progress. The land reform of 1945-46 started a tremendous ~~xx~~ transformation in peasantry. As a result of the large scale land-reform, agrarian proletarians, day-laborers and hired men of large estates became property owners. They became familiar with the problems of property. There was only a very small group of the formally most suppressed large estate farm-hands which did not feel well in this new situation of owning property, but the overwhelming majority started cultivating its newly ~~acquired~~ acquired (or for that matter, received) cultural possessions with tremendous determination and ambition, and the reconstruction of the devastated country in 1945, '46 and even in '47 until the Communist did not fully take over, went ahead with such a tremendous force from scratch in completely delapidated areas, too. This fact was mostly due to the perseverance and dedication and the appreciation of its newly acquired chances. But in '45 and '46 there were social layers within the peasantry itself still existing. This meant that well-to-do peasants separated themselves largely from the neophyte farmers and the less well-off layer of peasantry. This fact accounted for the structure and number of voters and ambitions of the so-called Peasant Party in 1945. This inner structure of peasantry, however, never led to anything resembling class struggle. What Communists termed class struggle was an artificially created something, and that was a real struggle only in so far as aggressive elements recruited mostly from what we term in socialist ideology Lumpenproletariat were raised to become members of the State apparatus and they created a class struggle from above and as their fight and their power grew, so did the unanimous disgust and detestation of peasantry. In fact, the strongest detestation against them was demonstrated by their own kind, by the other ~~xxxx~~ neophyte farmers and the poor peasants, from whose ranks these people were selected to become a ruling elite over peasantry. As a result of this artificially created class struggle that was ~~instigated~~ instigated and directed from above, a tremendous pressure was put upon the well-off peasantry - the so-called Kulaks. The regime was bent on exploiting them and stripping

them of their possessions. The ones of these who did not manage in time to get rid of their acreage were never able to do so later on, even if they wanted because they were used as milking-cows by the government and the government was intent on keeping them in that state. This development erased completely the social divisions that had existed within peasantry. Peasantry, in fact, became unified. Meanwhile, the disintegration of the peasant way of life got underway. Peasant population started flooding toward the immense construction jobs in cities particularly in newly and artificially created cities. This flooding caused agriculture to face labor shortage and collectivization brought with itself the incredible phenomenon (at least incredible to those were new peasantry) that many people were anxious to get rid ~~the~~ of their lands. Thus a unified peasantry entered the revolution where there was no more difference between poor peasants, and well-to-do peasants."

Continuing to answer the same question, - about his opinions of the various social classes of Hungary - respondent goes on to speak of labor:

"It had been a long dream of part of industrial labor that socialism one day would bring about a new golden age in which there would be no exploitation. In fact, there were large groups among labor whose thinking was penetrated by the Messianism of Socialism. Both those who hoped that social democracy would bring about these changes and those who accepted the Communist philosophy.....Aside from careerists, opportunists ~~and~~ Party Members of the former Arrow Cross Party became Communist Party members, ~~among~~ there were an appreciable group of workers who had lived for decades in the hope of the Messianism of Socialism...who were responsible for the ~~33%~~ 17% of votes that went to the Communist Party in 1945 elections. In the beginning, the dynamism of the Communist Party and the inner contradictions and the entire structure of Hungarian Society caused many people to believe that after the initial difficulties which the Communist Party necessarily had because there were all kinds of elements that comprised it, that after this initial stage of difficulties, the Communist Party would realize the promises of Socialism. It was only when the Communist Party really established a one-party system, when it suffocated all other parties and other forces of freedom and democracy, it was only when more and more idealist Communists were expelled from the Party, or sentenced to jail-terms, and that hardly any more opportunists and careerists remained within the Party leadership, that workers, on the whole, turned away from Communism. Under increasing pressure of the Communist State



the Communist State apparatus, the workers became more and more unified among themselves - common misery - common grievances - and common desires welded them together with no difference as to who and what they had been previously. I mean this with reference to those so-called "de-classed" elements, who previously had been members of the middle class. No religious and otherwise difficulties and any significance any longer. Under pressure they became unified beyond imagination, and this was one of the most tremendous forces in the revolution...the number of the small bourgeois layer of society became immensely diminished because ~~xxx~~ small craftsmen and small merchants were liquidated and these people also became an integral part of the class of workers. The upper and mediocre layers of the middle class of the bourgeoisie also became in part workers of industrial plants, and even those who managed to remain in their jobs became slaves of the State. They became wage-earners just as labor. Thus, although their social traditions and their environments made them bourgeois according to their actual social situation under Communism, they became one kind of worker. ~~It was not possible to say that the group of peasantry which was not completely suppressed and overburdened by taxation and deliveries which were well nigh impossible to fulfill - in other words that had less acreage than 24 acres, but more than just 3 or 4 acres, was perhaps the most independent segment of society under Communism. Their life was also a dog's life and they had tremendous difficulties to maintain their partial independence but they were still better off than other segments of the population. All other segments of the population depended completely upon the power and the will of the government because their wages were enough only for eking out a very modest living that did not exceed subsistence level. Their income made it impossible for them to build up reserves, and to revolt while leaning on those reserves. This is why one of the main reasons why uprisings do not more frequently occur and if they occur they do not become nation-wide. This is why no major strikes ~~xxxxxxx~~ can come about.~~ The fact that there was a nation-wide strike in the wake of the Hungarian revolution can be explained only by understanding the incredibly development of, and longing for freedom the taste of which was so profoundly enjoyed in those free days of victory of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ revolution. The perseverance of Hungarian workers in the nation-wide strike was made possible only by the unprecedented generosity with which peasant offered their incredibly low supplies to the workers and the most incredible fact that they offered those supplies for literally nothing...bourgeois of the type that we find in Western Europe ceased to exist under Communism. It

continued existing in part in its social traditions, which, however, underwent great changes, and in its social situation it became a part of labor. Teachers, high school teachers, pharmacists, lawyers, doctors, all became essentially wage-earners, and of course all the engineers. There was only a very small layer that still could be called middle class in the actual sense of the word."

Respondent has already answered partially the next question; namely, which class was hardest hit by Communism. He quite clearly answered the never voiced question to what class he feels he belongs and now I ask him make some specific remarks as to the class that was hardest hit by Communism and here is his answer:

"The layer of society that was hardest hit consisted of people who found intellectual jobs but actually were wage earners of the State as any ordinary worker. It was in these jobs of intellectual nature that the Sword of Damocles hung most above the heads of people - I mean the danger of getting fired in the course of reorganizations, and the re-groupings. Such a danger could be avoided only by mentally and morally prostituting himself. It was not necessarily a prostitution. It was enough to join the Party and join in a surface-prostitution. Many of these did not prostitute their consciences at all. Usually, they were expected to talk for the Party and not only to join it. Many few of them did even that; still, they actually they did not sell their souls to Communism, but most them did not meet this requirement. They did not go beyond simply joining the Party."

Asked of attitudes of classes to each other, respondent says: "It is awfully hard to generalize in answering this question. The actual question should be: What was the attitude of John Doe and of Joe Dole to this class. Making sweeping statements is all the more difficult since barriers among classes were tremendously blurred. Peasants became parts of industrial labor over night. Construction workers, factory workers, transportation workers, unskilled workers - they worked together with the so-called industrial workers and they were known to have so many acres of land, etc. Such mingling brought social classes closer to each other, but I must mention in this connection, the Communist Party used methods of diabolic cunning to make the differences between peasants and workers more conscious and pronounced. Particularly in the years '48, '49, '50 and even '51. Those were the years when in open market, farm products and poultry were available for terribly high prices

and then the Communists pointed to the fact that the peasants were blackmarketing. This was their pretense for raising railroad .....100% in 1951. Rakosi proudly announced that they found a method for preventing peasants from making black market by raising the railroad tickets and thus preventing people from coming easily from the country to Budapest with their merchandise. Of course, he didn't add that just by raising the railroad fares, the workers still would not get the geese, the ducks and the chickens. Workers, however, were bright enough to add this remark to the story that I just added. Such examples could be quoted by the hundreds. It happened in 1954 when Rakosi returned after the short-lived regime of Imre Nagy. It was then that the Party advertised again and again at meetings of workers at how much richer the peasants became during the regime of Imre Nagy. Thank God such campaigns usually fell flat on their faces because workers were much more mature than to believe these things that came from Party headquarters. Undoubtedly Imre Nagy produced laws and order in 1953 in order to raise the productive capacity of the peasants. This was of course a favorable development for the peasants but it was by no means <sup>8.038</sup> ~~in~~ advantage of the workers. In fact, the workers could also have derived benefit from the increased productivity of ~~the~~ agriculture, because had not the prices been regulated by the government, the workers would have received agricultural products at cheaper prices and in larger quantities, but prices were fixed, and it would lead us into very interesting analysis of socialist economy if we quoted examples of socialist inefficiency. In order to keep prices high, the government on many occasions ordered first-class agricultural produce to be put up as silo material."

Asked to summarize his answer as to how various social groups viewed each other, respondent says: "Temporarily it was possible for the Communists to sow seeds of discontent by their diabolic tricks to keep social classes from each other and to increase hardly existing or even a ~~some~~ dormant jealousies and animosities, particularly by pointing to the fact that income of peasants was rising during the regime of Imre Nagy and they tried to picture this phenomenon in a way that the implication was clear and clearly pronounced that this was detrimental to the workers, but most workers - at least on second thought - realized how foxy this trickery was because they said that after all their income could be raised by the government if it had given them a little share at least from the profit of their labor. Thus the accusation which the regime tried to level at the peasants was returned in the final analysis to the government by the workers."

"Summarily I may state that a more unified society was the result of Communist oppression and that formerly existing division lines were greatly disappearing, and in part completely disappeared."

C. Social Advancement: Asked what the chances in Communist Hungary are for an individual to get ahead respondent answers:

"A great many industrial workers and miners were anxious to purchase or rent a very small patch of land so that they could grow their produce for critical times. Even this practical change contributed to the fact that class divisions were greatly disappearing, and as I said disappeared to a very large extent."

D. Social Advancement: Asked what the chances in an independent Hungary for an individual to get ahead, respondent explains: Among the factors that made one advance socially should be mentioned first of all the role of class origin. If people were children of those whose parents were members of the newly established class they enjoyed a tremendous advantage in getting ahead socially. We know very well that teachers had to introduce right from the first grade on, a grading system according to class origin. Category A was for children of the favorite Communists - for those of children of exceptional status under Communism -; Category B was for children of workers; Category C for children of poor peasants; Category D for children of the intellectuals; Category E for children of so-called neutral elements and Category F for children of class aliens. As a matter of course, these categories were even more significant for the grown-ups themselves. People for instance, in the category of class aliens could socially get ahead only by becoming real traitors to their co-workers and to the cause of the entire country. They literally had to sell their souls or be devilish clever to pretend doing so. They had to be completely subservient to the designs of the regime. The other main factor of getting ahead, was, of course, one's relations to the Communist Party and to the degree to which they served the intentions of the Party. The third factor was, of course, talent and efficiency. If these qualities did not interfere with the aforementioned two, namely, favorable class origin and favorable relations with the Communists, of course he could get ahead very well. However, if he was not beyond reproach either from the point of view of class origin or from the point of view of the Communist Party he had tremendous difficulties - unless, he managed to be painstakingly neutral in a job which had no political, or intellectual implications. As a matter of course these were jobs requiring technical skills and technical ingenuity."

41-M  
HLR

V/59

Speaking of changes in social mobility, respondent says:  
"There were changes - according to who was in power at certain periods of time. Up to the year of "turn" - so-called by Rakoszi that is to say until 1948, there was still a diminishing but still quite strong resistance on all fronts of public life. It was in 1948 that the situation described above became completely true. By then, a new group came into existence with a society of the group of those who did not get ahead because of their sincere political convictions and the ideals they were anxious to accomplish. But a camp of those whose faithful dedication and subservience to the Communist system and subservience to the leader of the system in control, namely Matyas Rakosi became the most important criteria for getting ahead. The Party by then was made a kind of mystical body."

Speaking about him as a person, respondent says:  
"In such a regime of despotism and terror, of course, the type of individual could get ahead who was apt to serve well because of his subservient character. That is to say, a ~~person~~ opportunist careerist. By the time Communism took over in Hungary in 1948, and even more in 1949, the camp of those who had been sincere believers of Communism - I mean idealists, - became reduced almost to zero. In place of idealist Communists stepped those described above, and stepped also those sadistic elements who made up the ranks of the Communist secret police. These were recruited from the mentally and particularly emotionally sick elements of society - who are to be found in every society including that of the United States - but of course it is a Communist regime that is necessary for selecting these elements and using them for keeping the masses under their control. In normal societies, these sadistic elements are curbed and pushed back into the gutter, or fill up the jails."

D. Favorite Groups: "From what I said above, it logically follows that the favorite groups in Communist society were the ones that were ~~recruited~~ recruited from the opportunist-careerists - who make up with their subservient attitude the upper class - the ruling class of the Communist regime - who can justifiably be called the Communist aristocracy."

#### FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM.

##### A. Communist effects.

Speaking of family life in Hungary under Communism during the last ten years, respondent says: "The greatest opponent of Communism was the family. Family traditions - the ideology of the parents - the way they brought up their children frustrated the attempts of Communism bent on raising youth through Communist school education which youth would be completely subservient to Communist ideology and Communist designs. What the rulers were anxious to achieve through the very closely observed teachers and the skillful pedagogical methods will apply to indoctrinate youth in whatever the Communist system did in schools in the morning hours were destroyed in the afternoon and evening, while children were in the confines of their families. The real surprising thing was that children of the new class did not fully support the cause of the new class during the revolution. Students of the two leading military academies - the Zrinyi Academia and the Petofi Academia - who were children of leading party officials did not oppose with <sup>power</sup> the freedom fighters in the revolution; in fact, there were quite a few among them who actually joined the freedom fighters."

Asked about the three types of families, respondent replies:

"No doubt these three types were really discernible in Communist Hungary. Splits in the family were brought about either by winning over the children in school and thus intimidating the parents and preventing them from implanting the seeds they wanted to plant in the souls and minds of their children; perhaps this pattern was the more frequent one, but just the opposite of this pattern could also be observed. I am referring to cases in which the parents became Communists because of intimidation or other selfish reasons, and children under the influence of the atmosphere of their classmates and other youthful friends opposed the attitudes of their parents. Of course these cases were much smaller in number than those I just mentioned before. Generally speaking, Communist education turned out to be a failure in family life."

"Speaking of his own family, respondent says: "Our family belonged to the type which spoke freely in family circles about any issues. While children were smaller, we were cautious and did not talk when they were present. We dared not speak frankly in their presence, mainly because we feared that they incidentally, completely unaware of what they are doing they might say too much. Consequently in their presence we watched our tongues. But when the children started attending school

VI/61

41-M  
HLR

the quite usual form of double family education began. We told them what to say in kindergarden and in school - the truth as we actually saw it."

Speaking of other families, respondent says, "To us it's quite natural and obvious that the most frequent type of family was the one in which they grew closer and spoke freely among themselves and even among trusted friends. The life of most Hungarian families was not much affected by communism. I mean, not in the respect of what kind of upbringing they gave their children. The type of families were at least affected by communism when they had any family life at all. As a matter of fact, there were families, even before, which did not develop much of a family life, but they were a very small minority. In most families - at least the mother - and in exceptionally cases it was the father - that is to say one of the parents at least, and in a few cases even it was one of the grandparents - built up some ~~kind~~ sort of family culture. It was there anyway, and it was quite strong the disintegrating forces could not find their way into it."

B. Sex Patterns: "There were, of course, changes in the sex patterns of the life of youth. All the influences of the Communist regime and the fact that religious education in schools was abolished, and not only that it was abolished but that all those parents who raised their children in private religious instruction, committed a social and economic suicide, particularly if they were intellectuals. Thus the street had its effects on the sex education of most children." (Interviewer's notes: "Street is a word in this context, and in most contexts dealing with the problem of youth - almost tantamount to the English word gutter. Because it describes how children are with no parental guidance, or guidance of benevolent value. If children are growing up" in the street" this means in Hungarian that they grew up without any responsible guidance - atmosphere of a family or a similar unit of society)" Official Communist tendency was in the first years at least to teach youth complete freedom, but license in sexual life. Later, of course, great consequences of this trend showed up and to an extent that even Communist potentates were compelled to realize the failure of their sex education, and then they tried to apply stricter measures but outward measures do not help when society's situation was worsening, and where the family had to ~~combat~~ combat, not only communist indoctrination but, of course, the drive of basic instincts at the same time. In spite of my realizing the slackening of moral standards in youth, I dare say that the standard did not become worse than the sexual moral standard of the averages of Western countries."

Speaking of marriage, respondent explains: "From what I said logically follows that marriages were contracted at earlier ages than before. At the same time, I must remark in this connection that the social situation quite often prevented young people from getting together in marriage. The housing shortage was so tremendous that it was next to major disaster. This, of course, prevented many marriages and led to the spreading of pre-marital sexually relations, and also the application of methods of birth control. These methods were applied to a much greater extent than ever before; all the more since the Communist regime issued laws and orders aimed at very strictly curbing curatage and other methods for medically disrupting pregnancies. As a consequence, the rate of child birth rose immensely in the early '50s. The Minister of Public Health at that period was Anna Ratko, and she was responsible for those strict measures mentioned above. The order was issued in 1950, or in '49, and as a consequence the number of children entering the first grade of grade school in 1955 and '56 increased to such an extent that schools had a very hard time finding enough class rooms for those children. Those children were ironically called "Ratko's children!" ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ A change came about only later when strict measures were relaxed in view of the tremendous social problem that it caused in so many families, particularly because thus the State had to pay more wages because a child allowance was not negligible."

Speaking of courtship and engagements, respondent says: "The period of time of courtship and engagement depended completely upon the social circumstances of those concerned. A great force within these social circumstances was the housing situation to which I have already referred above."

Speaking of other changes, respondent goes on saying: "The number of divorces is clearly indicated in statistics. It is my recollection that most divorces were the result of the tremendous pressures under which families had to live - inhuman pressures which were put upon families by the Police State."



Speaking of prostitution, respondent says: "Prostitution was officially abolished and only some measure of secret prostitution remained and this fact greatly contributed to more license in sexual life."

Asked about the sexual morality of Communists, respondent says: "It is very hard to speak of something about convinced Communists because in the light of the fact that most of them, practically all of them, were liquidated or jailed at the end of the '40s. The new class consisted not of persuaded Communists but of subservient careerists and opportunists. Their morality depended on their social situation; the way they were brought up; the traditions to which they adhered for one reason or another, and of course, their inborn tendencies and some other factors and not their Communist ~~making~~ ideology or their Communist principles. At the end of the '40's there were persuaded Communists who belonged to the Communist Party elite who propogandized sexual license, but in '49 or '50, the official Party leadership turned against these and emphasized the so-called "Leninist morality".

C. Friendship with Communists: "Life was made political in Hungary under Communism and this brought the influence of the Communist aristocracy on even friendship. If one joined the Communist Party and had friends who were opposed to joining the Party, then in most cases they were estranged. There were a great number of cases in which friendship was restored either because the ~~person~~ friend who had joined the Communist Party became disgusted with it and disassociated himself from it, or because his attitude and overall behaviour made it very clear that he was not subservient to the Party and joined only for saving his daily bread. But even if friendship was restored the warmth and sincerity of the former friendship was gone. I know of no such case in which friendship remained completely intact, although one of the friends joined the Communist Party and became a minor functionary in it."

D. Juvenile Delinquency: "Undoubtedly under the circumstances prevailing, - in a society ruled by a communist clique there existed a problem of juvenile delinquency. This problem existed almost exclusively in families whose family life was entirely, or well nigh, made impossible by the fact that both parents had to work and in places and at times that gave a mortal blow to their living a sane family life. Instead of a family home, children went to the streets and raised by the street." (Interviewer's note; Here is again the expression "children were raised by the street" which I already explained in detail in Point A of this chapter VI).

41-M  
HLR

VI/64

Of course being raised by the street with a tremendous influence of bad and evil. Women as a rule were forced to work as their husband's received starvation wages. They went home tired from the industrial plants; the offices, and it was only afterwards that their household chores had to be taken care of. Such women have little and in a number of cases practically speaking no time to raise their children with the care they had received when they been children. Of course, the situation was very bad in families where the parents did not have the feeling of responsibility to do their utmost even though under very difficult and trying conditions. But this problem of juvenile delinquents was, inspite of what I have said so far, still much smaller than that of the City of New York, for instance and the delinquency that was existing hardly could be found anyplace else but Budapest."

RELIGION

A. The role of religion:

"Religion played an extraordinary and really important part in Hungarian life in the last ten years. Much more so than in the West in free societies because it was a very strong tendency on the part of communism to completely eliminate the role of religion from Hungarian life. Communism has always strived to establish a totalitarian power over every phase of life and particularly over the minds and consciences of people. Since it was unable to achieve this goal by merely using intellectual and spiritual methods, it found recourse in terror and in all other forceful means of communist administration. Communism was anxious to put into leading positions, or at least to help to gain leading positions in churches, persons who were either subservient to these policies of communism or were not actively or vigorously opposed to them."

Asked which religion was hardest hit, respondent answers: "Every religion was suffering in Communist Hungary but the pressure put on churches was the greatest in the case of the largest church - the Catholic Church which is not only the largest and the most powerful church in Hungary, but also is an international power. No doubt, communists singled this religion out for their heaviest attacks, and one of those attacks was the imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty, but there was no ~~marked~~ far reaching difference in the way they oppressed other religions."

This is respondent's view as to whether religion was a bulwark against communism: "The Hungarian people found a refuge in church in demonstrating its adherence to the spirit of democracy by clinging ~~to~~ to the churches even more than before and this was true even during the years during the rule of terror when even simple church-going resulted more in dismissal from ones job. Not even

Communists could completely ~~substantially~~ cut the ties that bound them or their families to churches because there were many persuaded as well as opportunistic Party members who called upon the church to assist them at the great moment of life: death. And they chose to be buried with the help of church services or ceremonies, or ordered such for their family members. Even more significant were the cases in which such Catholics belonging to the Party for one reason or another asked for a Priest and made confessions before they died."

B. Personal religious life:

"Religion is the most significant factor in my life. After a turbulent era of youthful revolution, I got thoroughly acquainted with the living Christ when I was 18 years of age, and since then the living God has become the center and the substance of my life. In my view the substance of the church is Jesus Christ. His teaching and His life is the greatest that spoke to men yet in this world. I know Him to be living Who has lived throughout centuries in men's souls. It is He who is living in the church and the church followed His teachings only to the extent that it followed His example and preserved His teachings in their entirety. ~~Church~~ Church is on this earth and consequently is in society and in this sense it is indirectly a political factor. The church often loses its original mission and its original creed and it often became a purely and dominantly a political factor in power-struggles."

C. The role of churches:

Respondent has already begun to speak of the role of churches and now he answers the explicit questions:

"Churches fulfill their obligations, their missions if they dedicate themselves to ~~making~~ bringing Christ to people and representing and teaching His teachings and if they dedicate themselves particularly to the upbringing of youth to its religious education."

Speaking of moral codes, respondents reveals his opinion as follows:

"The church should do just as I said above. It doesn't help essentially by forbidding something because no forbidding - no anti- something can go very far. Negative teachings are of little value. Positive teaching and positive examples are in the spirit of Christ."

Continuing his explanations about the role of churches, respondent goes on: "The ideal is free churches in free states - I mean churches which have no other obligations and no other limitations but the teachings of Christ. Hence, the church as a church under no circumstances can play a role in politics - not even in the form of lending support to anything of political nature because politics are clearly earthly in their nature

41-M  
HLR

VII/67

and churches by fulfilling their missions in preaching the gospel in thoughtful ways to adults and children alike can actually shape the lives of individuals and societies, and through these it actually influences the actions of individuals and countries and societies."

D. The Jewish Minority: Ask whether or not the Jewish religion was also hurt by communism, respondent says:

"Communism suppressed Jewish religion as well as the others. Leaders of the Jewish church were also jailed. Communism sought to completely liquidate Zionism - members of the Zionist movement were put either into interment camps or jails."

~~Asked what the attitude of Jews in Hungary was to Communism, respondent answered:~~

Asked what the attitude of Jews in Hungary was to Communism, respondent answered:

"Hungarian Jews had the worst possible opinions on communism, and this opinion became harsher throughout the years. This is all the more understandable if one considers that most of Hungarian Jewry held jobs in the so-called "occupations and professions". (Interviewer's note: "occupations and professions" simply means private business in socialist terminology). Communism has always been bent on completely terminating and annihilating this way of life based on private initiative. Consequently Hungarian Jewry was deprived of its ways of life."

Asked whether the attitudes of Jews underwent changes during the last ten years, respondent answered:

"It underwent changes just like anyone else did. Jews and Christians alike became increasingly familiar with the actual face of communism as years passed. Many such Jews and Christians alike who formerly had believed in it!"

Asked whether many Jews were communists, respondent answers:

"There were Party members in Communist Hungary. 19% of these either joined the party under forcing circumstances or was automatically transferred from his Party membership in the Social-Democratic Party when that party amalgamated with the Communist Party. There were Jews among these party members - disproportionate to their % in the nation for the following reasons; Party membership was higher in the cities

and Jewry was living almost exclusively in cities. Percentage-wise the least Party members were to be found in peasantry; second was labor and ~~third~~ third were the intellectuals and other members of the middle class. Since most Jews were members of the middle class had been, even before Communism, and managed after the abolition of the economy based on private initiative to keep their positions that made them members of the middle class - I mean intellectuals and the like - and in most jobs that were high enough to be termed middle class jobs, it was almost unavoidable, or at least very difficult to remain outside of the confines of the Communist Party."

Speaking of the attitudes and actions of Jews during the revolution, respondent says:

"I think Jews fully participated in the revolution. It would be exhausting to go through even those examples which I happen to know personally."

When respondent is told that some people have said that the Jews do not want an independent Hungary, he answers:

"I think it is true that many are, or perhaps most, anticipated when communism collapses there would be anti-Semitism, or at least a so-called "Jewish question" would again exist, but records show that we experienced no trace of such during the revolution. On the contrary, Jewish classmates of the students participating in the demonstrations were among them just as was anyone else, without anyone having taken any steps that this should happen. But of course, not only students - other Jews were among the demonstrators just like anyone else, and they did so without having heard any propaganda ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ coming from either Jewish or Christian quarters. The truth is that the entirety of the Hungarian nation was welded into an unprecedented unity during the actual fight of the revolution. Nobody even thought of asking someone's parentage - religious or otherwise. Did not even ask what he did the previous day - or what he was, or where he came from - even he had sinned in the past like AVO members, great disgraces could be washed out by siding with the revolution and being ready to sacrifice for it. The fact is that the revolution is willing to accept even such people let alone anyone whose creed or ancestry was different. I went into some details to make my opinion clear that I think the contention was that Jews do not want an independent Hungary ~~ix~~ because ~~that~~ they fear.... is completely unfounded.

41-M  
HLR

VII/ 69

"Starting with the demonstrations of Oct. 22nd until Nov. 12th, I participated in a great many demonstrations and witnessed fights and helped in them in auxiliary roles and participated in a great number of negotiations on local as well as on national levels and got around in the city quite a bit but on no occasion, under no circumstances have I even heard the word "Jew". In the initial days of the revolution, I was with a friend whose wife is a Jew. They were afraid that some anti-Jewish sentiments would be whipped up by responsible elements but a few days later they registered their great satisfaction and pleasure over the fact that reality did not bear out their fear. I am happy and proud of the Hungarian nation and that in the last ten years it realized that there is no real difference of ancestry or religion. There are only oppressors and oppressed. There is just no truth in the contention that Jews do not want an independent Hungary. It is true that among the top leaders of Hungarian Communism there are disproportionate numbers of Jews, but these are actually no Jews any longer - they ceased to be Jews quite some time ago. Religion plays no part in their lives. Rakosi, Gero and the like aren't attached to their churches; they are fanatics just like Khrushchev, Bulganin, Marosan and Munnich who are no Jews."

## THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

### A. Definition:

"By Hungarian youth we mean those age groups between approximately ten and thirty."

### B. The part of youth.

"Youth played the instigating, stirring, driving ~~fundamental~~ part of the revolution. In the initial period it was youth that actually sparked the revolution and became the motor of it."

Answering why they acted as they did, he answered: "They assumed this political role, because all the lies and other reasons of Communism that built up a tremendous bitterness in the mind of youth, accumulated in ten years and the frightening differences between the well-sounding slogans and actually beautiful ideals and the animated promises on the one hand, and the awful reality of communism every day life on the other hand, youth despaired and was made bitter and cynical. Cynicism of youth was recognized and realized by Communist leadership and they tried to counteract it in the '50s. Communist leadership failed to move youth to participate in communist activities. DISZ was a lifeless organization but there was not much the communist could do about it. The cynicism and infact the nihilism of youth shocked even those who were devoted sons and daughters of the nation and watched developments under the surface. Youth chose the way of escapism. It escaped into sports; into various kinds of amusements; it escaped so that it would not be compelled to see eye-to-eye the profound problems of life and to ponder them. But under the surface youth actually had the ideals in its soul and mind. It had the craving for creating a life born in freedom, and this is how it is understandable that when ideals were actually born and voiced by people who believed in them, when life started to suddenly change, when before the revolution youth saw more and more examples of morally integrity, of dedication to principles, and ideals, it was deeply impressed. The freedom of conscience; the purity of ideals and dedication, and the gratefulness to ideals, became living and moving forces in the mentality of youth. This is why youth sacrificed itself so fully in the revolution. It was because it saw that ideals -until then living only in its soul - could now be followed and realized, and this is why it was enraptured when it entered the fight which was fought with ideals as well as with weapons."



Speaking of the older people, respondent says:

"Older people admired youth. The opinion of youth of course changed about the older people in those days because youth saw that it had erroneously looked with cynicism upon most of the old people - in some cases even at its own parents. This was because youth now actually saw that the older people did believe in what they had spoken to them about, and about which, according to youth, they had not done anything before."

C. Educational system:

This is respondent's attitude toward education in Hungary:

"So far as subject matters are concerned, education in Hungary could be termed "high-standard". If we discount the sententiousness and the outright lies that had to be included in the teaching material. Those were necessitated by the nature of the communist regime and the regime could not tolerate teaching material without its seal of approval and that was given only if its basic views were represented in the teaching material one way or another. Discounting the naturally blinded tendencies that ruled in the humanities; discounting the only-redeeming Marxist historical materialism which was taught as a main subject material matter - if we discount all these, what remains is a quite serious quantity of knowledge which in most cases is combined with high quality. This is so true that responsible educators often raised the question whether the fact that youth is overtasked could not be remedied could not be remedied one way or another. I would say that those were right because youth was overtasked by teaching material it had to assimilate. Aside from these facts, Hungarian education was characterized by its belief in the teaching method. Education was not directed by developing the personality of the student, nor did they put any emphasis on the well-rounded personality of the educator. They were rather anxious to create a full and perfect teaching material and to teach it with up-to-date teaching methods. In spite of this, most Hungarian teaching personnel stood his ground heroically in the last few years. Teachers and educators in most cases, as or at least in too many cases, were not in a position to air their own views, but they taught subject matter in a way that their unvoiced silent criticism of the lies and sententiousnesses in the teaching material were sensed by youth."

Still going on with the same subject of evaluating teachers and asked what he thinks of the professors, respondent says:

"It is an interesting feature of Communist education in Hungary that in institutions of higher learning - with the exception of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ engineering schools, too many of the best professors were eliminated. Thus universities and colleges lost their former high standard. Many of the professors eliminated from universities and colleges found jobs in schools on the high school level; thus, those schools definitely improved. High schools in the last few years were of a better quality and were under less of the leaders control and the most essential part of education - the personality of the educator - had a larger role than in colleges and universities."

Speaking of restrictions and vocational choice, respondent says: "Only members of the exceptional class had no restrictions whatsoever on their vocational choice. Vocational choice was directed from above. Somehow, most students or at least too many, landed in fields which they did not like - or at least felt that they didn't like them because they were compelled to choose those, but the regime was compelled to direct vocational choice because its designs were not necessarily concurring with the natural tendencies in youth. Thus, for example, they would not have had students studying Russian had they not compelled them to do so."

D. Indoctrination: Asked what youth's reaction to communist indoctrination was, respondent answers:

"The ideological education of youth turned out to be a dismal failure. The basic reason of this failure is the fearful duplicity of life and ideology. Lies that filled all kind of propoganda, press, teaching, indoctrination were unmasked by the realities of life and were actually made live by what people saw and experienced day after day. Communist lies were constantly refuted by communist realities. Certain age groups of youth are inclined to adopt ideals. To adopt ideals so readily that it is inclined to think of ideals as they represent reality. At the end of the '40s and the beginning of the '50s communists succeeded in luring at least one segment of youth, but when youth passed that stage in its life which is so full of taking word pictures at their face

41-M  
HLR

VIII /73

was bitterly disillusioned by what it found in reality. Whenever they voiced their profound disillusionment they were lost - in jails or in interment camps, or if they didn't voice their disillusionment but resolved it in bitterness and in cynicism, they were often unable to continue their careers. Of, if they ~~managed~~ reconciled themselves to realities, they became careerists and managed to get ahead but at the cost of their integrity. The majority assumed the attitude of passive resistance. In its own mind it did not accept communism, and it went only so far as to seek the ways of a conduct which is not tantamount to betrayal and still provide them with a modus vivendi."

MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. "The first major dissatisfaction in Communist Hungary was the constant sinking of the standard of living up until 1953, which resulted in a constant and bitter struggle for the mere subsistence level of the the ordinary citizens. Another major dissatisfaction was the exaggerated norm. The fact that the workers were actually driven faster and to more work and to such work that overtaxed their strength resulted in constant fatigue. The third ~~dis~~ dissatisfaction was the infinite degradation of human dignity and ~~xxxx~~ humiliation. There has not yet been a system in the world which would have so terribly underestimated the mental capacities of its subjects as did communism. Communism which thought that it could make people believe anything. Lies perpetrated in press, in radio broadcasts, in all kinds of propoganda annoyed and vexed people, not only because they hurt their feeling of justice but because they were insult to their intelligence. Far beyond even that they were compelled in Party seminars, in various campaigns such as the one aimed at inducing people to sign "peace-loans". They were compelled on such occasions to show satisfaction over their being exploited and their people held in terror, and so many of them were even forced to deliver speeches to the effect of their being glad about supporting the apparatus that made them the most unhappy. Still another major dissatisfaction was the fact that people did not have a chance for baring their bitterness - for letting off steam. They were not permitted to voice their dissatisfactions and their pains and sorrows. They had to fear punitive measures the minute they spoke up freely. As the crown of all dissatisfactions, may be mentioned the constant fear of terror - the constant dread of the State mechanism of terror that could extinguish anyone's life without any further ado."

Respondent gave such a full account of dissatisfactions that there is no use question B, which is actually answered already by his statement.

## THE ECONOMIC LIFE

### A. The Standard of Living:

"The standard of living was sinking until 1953 at a progressive rate indeed. While still in 1948 and '49, it was not absolutely necessary for earning the daily bread that both husband and work in a family which has at least one dependent - from 1950 on, this became an inevitable necessity because otherwise they could not meet the basic necessities of ~~life~~ every day life. When in 1953, Imre Nagy took over, the standard of living was slowly but definitely rising once more as a result of the New Course...the Course, with the return of Matyas Rakosi, these gains were almost cancelled out. My wife also had to find a job in 1951 because otherwise we could not have had the daily bread. The fact, however, that she was forced to work, made our lives unbearably threadmill. In spite of the fact that by then and particularly later on I belonged to pretty well paid workers. In spite of the fact that in the last two years in Hungary, I worked almost constantly on two work-shifts of the three in twenty-four hours. Still we didn't manage to accumulate funds to cover the key-money necessary for renting a very modest little flat consisting of one kitchen and one room...\$ 5,000 forints would have been necessary for key-money, but we were not able (the two of us) and not even though we were living a very modest unassuming life, to save ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 5,000 forints."

Going into details, describing their living standard, respondent says: "Even food was satisfactory and sufficient only because we reduced all our basic demands. This was the case in most Hungarian families. Parents usually did their utmost to reduce their own demands so as to meet the basic requirements of their children."

Speaking of clothing, respondent goes on: "Clothing was certainly cut to the minimum necessities of human beings. The average man was happy if the savings of about two years of work sufficed to buy a suit."

Coming back once more to the problem of housing, respondent says: "The greatest problem was that of housing. There were three full families that lived in the apartment in which we lived. That apartment consisted

of one kitchen and one bathroom, one pantry and three rooms, but nothing else. Together, with children, this meant eleven persons. Two of the three families had always it over us if they wanted to go out to the kitchen or porch."

It has begun unnecessary to ask what the greatest difficulty was as respondent goes on by himself:

"This was the greatest difficulty because privacy of family became an impossibility, and this spartan-sharing, this co-operative tendency imposed almost unbearable strains upon most families. Even in the case of close relatives or very good friends, apartment-sharing usually led to tensions that sometimes exploded in conflicts."

Speaking of luxury, respondent explains: "It was a luxury to drink beer on a Sunday - to take a bus instead of a streetcar. If one could afford to drink one demi-tasse a day - if one ate as much as fresh fruit as he desired - if one satisfied such a modest passion as for instance, smoking to the fullest extent, and anything beyond these items just enumerated, were greater luxuries."

Speaking of changes in the standard of living, this is what respondent can say: "The standard of living was the highest in 1948 in our family. From then on, it was deteriorating at a progressively increasing speed - a rate of speed until 1953. From 1953, it showed a very slight increase again. It was the lowest in 1951 and '52."

Asked about a family that respondent personally knew that was better off than any other, he answered: "With the best will, I just can't remember any family with which I was well acquainted that had a standard of living that could be called satisfactory - let alone, good. The main differences were provided by the number of children. We heard only of families which lived considering better than most and those were such which received regularly gift parcels from abroad. We were aware of the high standard of living of the upper tenthousand - particularly one heard much about the luxurious living of the members of the AVO and of Party bosses. Their domestic servants and others close to them, spilled secrets of their standard of living."

41-M  
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Trying to find what accounts for the Hungarian standard of living, respondent comes up with this ~~xxxxxx~~ statement:

"The main reason<sup>s</sup> was the economic policies of the government in the last eight years. <sup>had</sup> The Western Powers had an intention to ruin Hungarian economic life and had they illegally and ~~secretly~~ secretly placed their best agents into leading positions into Hungarian economic life I am quite positive that not even the best trained agents could have done such a thorough job in destroying Hungarian economy even if they had had a well-designed plan for destroying the economy as the Communist economic policy of Rakosi and Gero managed to accomplish in the last in destroying Hungarian agriculture as well as Hungarian economic life in general. In the field of ~~industrialization~~ industrialization and the field of construction, they could boast ostensible achievements and industrial employment increased some hundred percent but these achievements were made possible by nothing else but by an immeasurable exploitation of both peasantry and labor, and by their immense sacrifices, and I am speaking of a measure of exploitation and of sacrifices which until then were not only unheard of but I for one was not able to imagine."

B. Income: "My monthly income was 600 forints. Deductions amounted to 120 forints a month.

"I had family allowance for two children since I worked very often, not only one shift but two shifts in a row and this was a secondary source of income.

"My wife also held a job."

"I received no wage increase since I worked in a system of piece-work. It is true that they managed to achieve ostensibly some success in industrializing the country and in construction projects - in fact there were quite a number of workers employed in industry but this progress is due solely to an immeasurable extent of exploitation and sacrifices forced upon labor and peasantry. This exploitation in fact not not surpassed any measure of exploitation known in history of the country but surpassed even the widest spheres."

C. Prices: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"We bought food at a State store; to a lesser extent also at farm markets. There were some articles which were worth buying at farm markets - it is true they were higher in prices but their quality was better and first of all they were fresher, thus the difference in price was worth it. This is why people selling ~~for~~ their merchandise to farm markets were better off because they received better prices for their produce."

"Of course there were differences in products which were seasonal in character but the products which were available throughout the year were regulated by the government."

"The control of commerce was concentrated on the one hand by the government to such an extent that any competition was out of question. Commercial life was not even a faint semblance of free trade or of free economy. The only similarity was in the form of price increases but they resulted not from competition but from the eagerness of the State to increase its revenue."

Speaking of clothing and other necessities, respondent said:

"We bought clothing in the State stores; only to a lesser extent did we buy them in a commission store. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ in  
"The ~~xxx~~ quality of the merchandise was just about the same ~~and~~ both types of stores."

"There were no price differences throughout the years because even the raw material was regulated as to its price and so was the quality of every article. As a matter of course there were different prices for different qualities. Better quality products were of course more expensive but these price differences were always worth it because ~~xxxxxx~~ durability of cheap merchandise was little more than zero."

Speaking of price differences, respondent said: "There were no price fluctuations worth mentioning."

Speaking of the efficiency in retail distribution, respondent said: "There were tremendous difficulties and almost constantly in availability of goods. Socialist-planned economy is actually disorganized. Most sources of troubles and failures are to be found in the bureaucratized administration, and as a matter of course the lack of individual



responsibility and even more in the lack of individual incentive because neither the workers nor the management were interested in gains nor in the improvement of production or administrative procedures, or in the way of distribution. It happened in a great many cases that goods which existed in abundance were unavailable because of transportation and other distribution difficulties. Much supply was destroyed in produce and other articles of perishable ~~xxxx~~ nature <sup>of the merchandise</sup> by those responsible for ~~xxxx~~ transportation and storage difficulties."

Speaking of standard parts, respondent says:

"There were tremendous difficulties in obtaining fairly standard spare parts even in the case of vehicles and agricultural implements that were manufactured in Hungary. Not only consumers had difficulty in obtaining such parts but even repair shops. The reason was that in planned economy so-called "strained" plan for manufacturing the new machinery and these "strained plans" could be fulfilled only by unreasonably accelerated work. As a consequence the manufacturing of spare parts was completely neglected!"

"Commodities were often in short supply. There were hardly any commodities in which there was no shortage at one time or another. There were years in which various parts of clothing were in short supply; in other years, particularly '51 and '52 in which there was a tremendous shortage in food, etc."

Asked about blackmarketeering, respondent said: "Black-market was particular flourishing in the years of '48, '49, and until '51. Punitive measures were applied in an increasing rate and by '51 and '52 they suppressed black-market so efficiently that it shrunk to a very small amount compared to what it used to be."

"From 1953 on, black-market could not develop well although farmers and small tradesmen were permitted to sell their merchandise in free trade - still, a black-market did not develop because commerce in the hands of the State acquired large supplies because farmers and small craftsman had at the time of the New Course some measure of freedom of disposing their products."

Asked whether legal outlets refused to sell goods unless buyers played a higher price, respondent said:

"The system of favoritism was practiced in the case of scarcely available goods - mostly in the fashion that goods in short supply were usually available in State stores only if the customer risked a special premium."

D. Working conditions:

"Actually, I am a college professor but as I stated before because of the jail-term I had been given, after serving my prison term, first work as an unskilled worker and later for about five years I settled in the field of electricity and I became a skilled electrician. Under the given circumstances, I got used to my work and I kind of liked it, but could never get really attached to it."

"The length of my work-week was the usual forty-eight hours, but my job was so far from my home that I needed every day two hours for commuting to and back from my job."

"I worked in a small plant which employed about seventy workers and in this small plant, there was a quite familiar atmosphere ~~between~~ among co-workers."

"Not even my relations to my superiors were strained, let alone bad."

"Under the given circumstances, I was satisfied with my working conditions."

"My co-workers were quite efficient in their field."

"My superiors appreciated my work in spite of the fact that they knew "criminal" past, and in spite of the fact that they were aware that I was a political foe of communism - which they represented. In fact, my superiors praised my work on several occasions and had even the guts to afford official recognition."

Speaking of the Hungarian vacation, health and compensation program, respondent has this to say: "I thought pretty much of the Hungarian vacation program generally speaking. Disregarding the system of favoritism which flourished even in this field, it is unquestionably true that workers were given the opportunity to take vacations at the most fashionable and outstanding resorts of the nation. Workers who in previous years could never have thought of affording such a "luxury".

"The health program can be rated "excellent" under the given circumstances.

"Old-age pension was however disastrously low. Nobody could afford even a modest living from that who had worked forty or fifty years on their jobs.

E. Agriculture: Asked where he would preferred to live, respondent answers: "There was no chance for me but to live in a city because of my political past I would have been subject to much more close observation and persecution in a small town. In a city, it was possible for me to "vanish" and not to be accounted for every day."

Speaking of standard of living, respondent observes:

"The living standard was higher usually in cities than in small towns, or villages except for the group of individual farmers whose acreage did not exceed 15 acres. This group enjoyed a proportionate bearable situation because its tax burdens as well as the delivery obligations were proportionately lighter than those of all the other groups. At the same time, their safety of life was also proportionately firm, particularly after 1953 as a consequence of the agricultural reform of Imre Nagy. Their income and consequently their standard of living increased substantially.

Speaking of the effects of collectivization, respondent says:

"My initial opinion of collective agricultural system was that I anticipated disaster. Collectivization is quite contrary to the basic nature of Hungarian peasantry to its love of independence and to its clinging to its own property and to its land. These interrelated factors excluded by themselves the possibility of efficiency of collective agriculture in Hungary. Collectivization can be accomplished in Hungary only by terror and force. As a matter of course, anything that is accomplished with help of force or terror is bad per se."

This is his current opinion: "Collectivization ruined peasantry as a matter of course."

41-M  
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Asked about differences in objecting to collectivization, respondent explains: "The first to agree to collectivization were destitute former farm hands who used to live and work on large estates - who were given some acreage in the course of the land reform but since these people used to live as hired-men of land owners, there was not much change from their former status to the new one. There is a very revealing pun in Hungarian. The collective farms are called Termelőszövetkezeti Csport and the abbreviation of this long name is T.SZ. CS. Well, the pun went like this: T.SZ CS stood for the following three words: Tovább Szolgálo Cseled, and these three Hungarian words mean in English: "Re-enlisted Farm Hands". In all other agricultural groups, collectivization could only be enforced by applying force. It was mostly mediocre peasants and well-off peasants who gave in to force and resigned to collectivization because they had only two alternatives - either to enter collectives or to be called and rated Kulaks. To be painted a Kulak, of course meant to be subject to persistent vexations, unbelievable harassments and mental torments, humiliations, all of which contributed to many kulaks committing suicide.

"As a matter of course, collectives were ~~then~~ dissolved because of the reasons enumerated above."

Asked what kind of agricultural system respondent would like to see in an independent Hungary, he answers ~~xxxx~~ : "I would by all means advocate individual farming that is based on the maximum number possible of efficient small farms. Collectives have turned out to be complete failures. The roots of ~~xxxxxxx~~ co-operatives however are very deep, and even presently wherever they are permitted to function, co-operatives are flourishing. I figure that in case of liberation, we have to reckon with a very strong movement of co-operatives in agriculture."

THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948:

"I was genuinely interested in politics even before '48; in fact, I used to be interested in politics even while I was a high school student. In 1945, I did a Member of Parliament with the program of the Small Holder's Party. My work was that of one of the National leaders of the Small Holder's Party until my arrest. My entire background and my ideas affected my being deeply interested and involved in political life.

"The same is true about members of my family. They were influenced, of course, by my political stand and role but quite independently of that, even previously, the family of my wife and my family had been deeply interested in politics, although none of them had taken an active part in party life. But in those years - I mean the first two years right after world war II, where we fought for saving our free way of life, it was just obvious that just everybody became interested in the political struggle - everybody in my family and even in the wider sense of the word "family" was sold on the idea of a completely democratic system, and they all belonged to the Small Holder's party, until leaders of the Small Holder's Parties were ~~not~~ imprisoned or forced into exile."

Speaking of the Communist Party before 1948, respondent gives this account: "I formed my opinion of the Communist Party by the time when I was an high school student because I illegally managed to get hold of a copy of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, I got a picture of the aims and aspirations and the minutes of the Communist Party. The strivings of the Communist Party were not new to me after that. There was only one circumstance which made me hope that the free way of life could be maintained - saved - and that was the Yalta Agreement - in that agreement the great powers agreed and pledged themselves that in the liberated countries, and that meant also Hungary, free, unhampered political life may develop with the equal participation of all democratic parties. In the beginning of 1945, we were not yet aware that the Soviet Union would be ready to try brute force and terror to press its points - its demands which were all a part of large scale plan, and above all, we didn't know that the West would not prevent Soviet Russian in carrying out steps leading to the liquidation of free political life."

41-M  
HLR

XI /83

Speaking of his attitudes toward the Communist Party before and during the war, respondent says:

"It was long before the second world war, that is to say it was in 1932 that the Communist International dissolved the Communist Party because they reconciled themselves to the fact that the ~~Secret Police~~ detectives of the Horthy era managed to observe the activities of every illegal political group in Hungary and it immediately arrested all the leaders of such groups. Thus the Communist International realized that it could not maintain a Communist Party in Hungary. In various organizations however, in labor unions above all, and in the left-wing of the Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party) many radicals of the left-wing found a haven who cherished the ideas of and desired for socialist way of life, and who in fact looked forward to the coming realization of socialism with a feeling of messianism. This, however, was a very thin layer of the population. This thin layer of almost exclusively industrial workers provided the members of the Communist Party during the war years which again became active and particularly after the events in Stalingrad. This group of whom I talking supplied also the ~~members~~ members of the anti-Nazi German Resistance Movement. This group, however, was a very small - in fact a tiny, small part of this Resistance Movement which consisted of other elements of labor, of peasantry and of intelligentsia, ~~and~~ You will remember, for instance, my group Resistance Movement in which you also participated and you will know that most of our members were students, members of the Student Unity Movement. ~~The~~ ~~members~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Student~~ ~~Unity~~ ~~Movement~~ ~~was~~ ~~mainly~~ ~~composed~~ ~~of~~ ~~students~~ ~~and~~ ~~young~~ ~~workers~~ ~~and~~ ~~peasants~~

"The leaders who directed the activities of the Communist Party during the war were pushed back gradually into the background. In 1945, when the leaders from Moscow exile returned only such of them remained on the surface of the political struggle that ensued who were completely subservient to the leadership of the Moscovites. It was Rajk who managed to hold out the longest and keep a group of Hungarian Communist leaders who were no Moscovites. Until 1949, he was also liquidated.

"The masses of the Communist Party were supplied in 1945 mainly by the

little people who had been previously in the Arrow Cross Party. These people joined the Communist Party in part out of fear of consequences of their activities in the extreme right party and also because of their psychological structure. Their joining of both parties whose entire existence and ~~ideology~~ ideology is based on brute force was quite natural. One part of the masses of the Communist Party were coming from both the Agrarian and Bourgeois Lumpenproletariat - that element found a suitable place in the Communist Party. One part of industrial labor and a smaller part of agricultural labor also joined the Communist Party because it hoped that it would realize the ideals of Socialism. This is how the Party managed to get 17% of the votes in the free 1945 Parliamentary elections. The fact that the Communist Party managed to get 22% in 1947 is due solely to large scale trickery and cheating. Had those elections of 1947 been also free, I am quite sure the Communist Party would have scored several percentages less than in 1945 elections, because by then it had lost the confidence of great portions of its former believers. As the Communist Party assumed one-party rule, it gradually lost more and more its ground in the minds of people who formerly identified themselves with it, or at least sympathized with it. The genuinely persuaded members of the Party split up more and more into ~~groups~~ <sup>groups</sup> which were liquidated either just by pushing members into oblivion or by persecuting them or jailing them. Other elements remained ~~obsessed~~ <sup>people</sup> obsessed by power - these became members of the new class - the opportunists and the careerists."

B. The Communist Party after 1948: The first four points of this section have already been answered by respondent as above.

Speaking of changes in Party politics, respondent says: "There were constant changes in the policies of the Communist Party since they were completely dependent on the decisions of Moscow. All changes in Moscow became changes in Budapest as well. Since Rakosi and Gero was completely subservient to all intentions of Moscow, they remained in power as long as after Stalin's death in the subsequent relaxation dangerous times indicated that all was not well in southeastern Europe. By then Rakosi and Gero clique had economically ruined the country - the productive layers of society were ruined and want and misery became an integral part of Hungarian life. The early uprising scared the Soviets and it decided to take a new course and follow new lines of Policy. One of these consequences was the emerging of Imre Nagy. Even while I was a plain worker, I was aware politically and kept a watchful eye on the political and social development of Hungarian life. I managed to learn reasons for changes within the Party and I learned moves of Party leadership soon after they were carried out. I also learned in the years of oppression how to read between the lines of newspapers..how actual reality maybe learned from written texts that try to portray ~~versions~~ removed from truth.

"This is how I could follow changes within the Party."

"Speaking of Party morale, respondent said: Party morale in 1945 and in a decreasing measure until almost 1948. True idealism and the spirit of genuine hoping and expectation - even the spirit of Messianism was prevalent ~~xxxxxx~~ in certain groups within the Party but from 1948, the spirit of the Party became that of lackey attitude - of complete subservience - ideological values and true idealism were banned. This didn't change later at all. Rakosi and Gero managed to produce the new class. The new class which was subservient to their will in every situation - the apparatus of the police state and everything that went with it was the most characteristic feature of the Communism. In the years following 1948, with a brief interruption during the regime of Imre Nagy these people gained higher positions or maintained those already gained. This quite well developed a Party spirit which prevented Imre Nagy from achieving much more in 1953. When he wanted to carry out his reforms, he was faced with a opposition with the Party. ..the opposition of the new class, the opposition of a bureaucracy of that new class. That new class recognized the great danger in the policies and attitudes of Imre Nagy. They double-crossed his intentions; they tried to undermine them in every way possible, and helped in such a manner the return of Rakosi."

Speaking of the top leaders of the Communist Party, respondent says:

"They, the top leaders of the Communist Party, led by a strong desire to maintain power in their hands at all cost - most of them have no other choice but to cling to power at any rate. They are fully aware that if freedom would come there more would be over for good. It requires a certain degree of moral fortitude and an appearing to be of substance to pursue policy of which he knows that he knows they are of in interest to the nation but at the same time, they are weakening and eventually destroying his own position and power. It takes very much for one to decide for such a course. Leaders in the Communist Party of Hungary with Imre Nagy and Losonczy and Donath among the main leaders have gone through a school of life that taught them the facts of life and they have come to the recognition that this is not actually what they wanted to have - they drew the consequences and they honestly and decently accepted the revolution. They accepted the historical events while knowing that the elections the Communist Party could not possibly make more than 5% of the votes."



"Backed by Soviet power, members of the new class, people obsessed by the love of power - people with weak characters - are in the majority of the top leaders of the Communist Party and they constitute the government of Kadar."

"Not even within this power as a group are all leaders alike. There are some among them who tried to explain in their way why they think alike as they do; there are cynicals among them who try to explain away their genuine reasons;--they concede they do because they only want to keep power in their hands- ; there are also fanatic obsessed diabolic persons among them. People who are led by hatred - like as Rakosi and Gero and Revai. There are others who are mere tools and rather assume the role of mere tools than to risk losing their power in positions - such as Kadar. Then there are also some people with humbler qualities among them who apparently manage to persuade themselves that they act as they do because they try to achieve some higher goals and try to serve the common good of all."

Speaking of what the fate of top Hungarians should be, when Hungary is independent respondent says:

"Those who commit a criminal act should be tried by criminal courts, and those who will play an active and well-proven part in bringing about liberation of Hungary will have to receive far-reaching amnesty. We'll have to announce such an amnesty for the coming struggle for the liberation of Hungary because that will, or perhaps might, save very much precious blood ; but no doubt, there will be many leaders among Party leadership who will have to be tried in criminal courts."

C. Opposition: "The despotic power of the Communist Party grew after it eliminated all opposition parties by 1948 (It eliminated them then by liquidation) - opposition on the part of the population kept growing. This opposition was revealed in remarks, in discussions, debates and resistance, and once in a while in organizing activities in a few conspiracies, and some not so clearly shaped movements - the extensive organization of the AVH - the apparatus of terror- prevented such conspiracies and opposition organizations from going on undetected. And people of such ended up on gallows and in jails and in slave labor camps without achieving anything. The opposition created by the policies of Rakosi and Gero kept constantly growing ~~again~~ and was practically speaking shared by all the population. The only exception being

41-M  
HLR

XI /87

the elements who had a share in the power. From 1953 on, more and more quite realistic criticism was exercised throughout the country in Party local organizations - in the councils of the so-called Patriotic Front. These criticisms quite well analysed the omissions and mistakes and sins of the era and this was done under the pretense of "self-criticism". This, however, was recognised by the Party leadership for it actually was and Rokosi ~~and~~ made Josef Darvas write an article against this practice against Szabed Nep. (Official Party organ) - later the resistance of authors and writers began and the resistance and opposition of the Petofi Circle. The opposition behaviour of the entire population kept constantly growing and from the beginning of 1956 it assumed more and more the character of open resistance, tending to become a revolution - particularly the moves of the Petofi Circle since June 1956 and the re-burial of Hajk, and the student ~~demonstration~~ demonstration at the Battanyi on October 6th, 1956 ~~was~~ were parts of a process which ended in a revolution which was provoked. And such were the quite open demonstrations in theatres (particularly the theatres) whenever there was any reference made to freedom. But conversations in plants, in streetcars, in offices, on street corners, in buses, in swimming pools and sport arenas - that is to say in every area of life wherever people could voice their sentiments, even if they could not afford more than to say things in a veiled and in a ~~an~~ indirect form the opposition of the Hungarian people assumed thousands of forms of revelation. This opposition was constantly spreading from person -to-person, and from family- to family, and group-to-group. The Hungarian people were emotionally and mentally in the state of revolution by October 1956, and all it took was ~~a~~ to be pushed into the revolution and the country was aflame. The push consisted of two parts; one was the stirring in Poland and the other the massacre of the secret police at the Radio Station coupled with the stubborn refusal to negotiate the demands of the students."

Asked about the activities of the intellectuals, respondent has this to say: "I not only heard of the existence of the Petofi Circle, but in fact heard about its plans before it even appeared in the open. The generation which assumed leadership of the Hungarian students in the

the beginning of the forties to which you also belonged and in which you played such an outstanding, leading part, included also me as an active leader. This generation considered Ady, Zsigmond Morics, Dezso Szabo and László Németh very much worth to listen to. It was naturally under the great influence of these authors <sup>we</sup> saw things very much in the light of their views - and accepted in particular László Németh's book "A Minőség Forradalma" ("Revolution of the Intellectual and Moral Elite") in which the synthesis of Hungarian culture and Western culture is achieved. This generation assumed more and more importance and a more and more significant role in the intellectual ferment of colleges and universities in the beginning of the forties. At the Nazi Convention at Balatonszarszo which you and I were part of, clearly revealed the views of this generation. One part of this awakening generation, however, went to the left in 1943, and particularly in 1944, and some of them even went as far left as communism, but most of us remained with you and me what we call the Third Side. This, our Third Side of Hungarian youth entered the ensuing anti-Nazi and anti-fascist struggle with a great determination and fear in order to save moral and political values, and human life of politically and religiously persecuted people for the era we expected after the second World War. In 1945 and 1946 the Third Side group of our generation got into a bitter fight with our former associates in the Resistance Movement, particular with members of the Györfy Kollegium (Györfy students's boarding institute).

"In 1947 and '48 the Third Side section of our generation was the first to be liquidated by being pushed into jails and slave labor camps. Only the arrival of Imre Nagy saved these people from rotting to death. But members of our generation who had pulled to the left between 1943 and '45, slowly recognized one after the other, that under the mask of socialism, actually a rootless, capitalist system of exploitation and imperialism is keeping the blood of Hungary and is a shame on socialist ideals. This left side group was thus disillusioned but did not lose its hope and determination and in its mentality it increasingly became a Third Side group once more. As such, it was seeking contact with genuinely and constantly Third Side persons, many of whom had just been freed from prisons and slave labor camps. I was one among those and we in fact established contact. Many of us who had worked together in the Student Unity Movement - out of this plan grew the plans for the Petöfi Circle, and this is how the addresses, discussions, and debates of the Petöfi Circle came about. We, who were just then freed from prisons and slave labor camps could not even attend the meetings of the Petöfi Circle because of the close surveillance of the AVH. We took part only in the planning and behind the scenes in discussions of those meetings which were actually arranged but led by the inner opposition

41-M  
HLR

XI/89

of the Communistic organizations of writers. I am really referring to those of the Writers Association and in some segment of the government.

"The ferment was actually started by authors even before the meeting of the Petofic Circle played a significant role. It actually started in ~~1952~~ 1953, when writers were permitted for the first time to write freely. They relished the beauty and the far-reaching possibilities of the freedom of conscience and freedom of press and when Rakosi reacted and tried to push these writers back into obedience, they were reluctant to assume again a subservient role, but were anxious to keep the freedom they enjoyed. The little freedom they enjoyed in the beginning longed for even more and by 1956 they quite openly spoke up in their writings and said the truth which was felt and seen by broad masses of the people. ~~Since~~ Since it was the communist writers that is to say, those who had been Communists for a while before until they got disillusioned, well, since these were the ones that had to lose the least, they were the ones who stirred most. Authors, who previously had been subservient to the regime because they erroneously believed in the ultimate socialist goal being served that way, now enjoyed the fact that they were listened to and that their writings were eagerly expected by broad masses of the people. In many of them a very strong moral determination developed, and there were even older people among them who rather faced expulsion from the Party - like Dery and Tardos. This attitude logically led them to their roles prior to and in the revolution.

"The generation I spoke of and the authors partly in this generation and in part older than they and some younger, was the motor in preparation and actualy/fighting for freedom."

THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Secret Police:

The AVH developed from a secret police first set up in '45 and '46 by the Communist Party. It developed into such according to plans drawn up in Moscow and sent to Budapest and literally followed here. The AVH remained under the supervision and the direct control of Russian authorities. It received its instructions to the smallest detail from Moscow. In the beginning, the top leadership of the Hungarian AVH consisted of Moscow-trained leaders. Later, they tried to find, and train others from the ranks of the Hungarian Communist Party who were apt to work in this type of project in the police state. It of course dropped those who proved unsuitable for this type of terror activities. The same situation prevailed at the Military Political Department.

"Sadistic elements were selected and entrusted with conducting interrogations, using torture as the main method of obtaining confessions.

"Speaking of personal experiences, I have already mentioned that I was sentenced to three years and got around in prisons of the AVH. For brief periods of time, even, my wife and my brother-in-law were in the hands of the AVH."

Asked whether respondent knows of any AVH men who wanted to leave the AVH who suffered remorse, etc. he answers: "I heard of such indeed and in fact of such who gave a humane treatment to political prisoners, figuring that this would become part of his defense when the country would be liberated. Such a case was rare; of course, and if for no other reason at least because the Communist grinding mill was of a nature that people who got into it found it impossible to get out again. But only failures, or even waverings were punished the same way as was political prisoners."

Asked what should be done in an independent Hungary with those who had been members of the AVH, respondent answers: "Members of the AVH should stand trial and should be tried accordingly to the ~~existing~~ statutes of the Hungarian Criminal Code, but those of them who will actively participate in another revolution or revolutionary activity that will lead to the liberation of Hungary should receive amnesty even for criminal actions committed before because political wisdom requires that a coming revolution should be made as swiftly as humanly possible."

Speaking of the regular police, respondent says:

"The regular police behaved wonderfully during the revolution. Finding enough persons for filling up the huge organization of the AVH, meant using up all elements who were inscrupulous enough to serve as henchmen of the regime. Thus the regular police had elements more of the normal type of human beings. They were ~~xxxx~~ behaving pretty decently in the criminal and traffic cases. It is true that before the revolution they were not very popular either, because anything that was part of the police state was resented by the population and they were one kind of police, after all."

Asked about corruption, respondent says that he found not more than could be called normal in a police state in most places.

Speaking of the role of the regular police during the revolution, respondent says: "It is an undebatable fact that we saw no regular policemen fighting on the side of the AVH in the revolution. Starting with Oct. the 23rd, the officers of the regular police issued orders, again and again, for regular police to resist but they didn't resist. Revolutionary activities and in fact many of them chose to take part in the resistance itself; many only by handing over their arms to the freedom fighters and many becoming freedom fighters themselves. I personally met a great many of such right from the beginning--that is, to say, from Oct. 23rd. The AVH applied trickery by ~~xxxx~~ addressing its men into blue uniforms on Oct. 24th, and that might have led to some misunderstanding, but that was about all."

#### B. The Courts:

"Hungarian courts before 1945 were actually as they were called "Independent Courts." Verdicts of the court were made on a very high moral and legal level and according to human justice. In criminal cases as well as in civil suits. The only exceptions were the special councils of the court like those handling political trials, like in the case of the book by Gesa Feja "Viharsarok" ("Sources of Turmoil"), and the one handling the case of Imre Kovacs' book "Nema Foradalom" ("Mute Revolution"). These trials were under the influence of the political views of the Horthy regime."

Speaking of the People's Courts, respondent says:  
"Expert knowledge was still provided in these trials by judges of the former regime. But such were selected from the group of those who were ready to accept the orders of the Communist Party rather than the dictates of their own consciences and their feelings of justice. Such people became the chairman of the People's Courts. The People's Courts reflected the political structure of the Hungary of those years - the juries came from the various parties, and just as parties were engaged in a bitter struggle so were the judges coming from their ranks. . . judges coming from the Small holder's Party and in some cases from the Peasant Party and in a few cases those coming from Social Democratic Party tried to prevent in many cases the terror-sentences, but they were usually not able to do so because of Communist preponderance.

"No doubt there were war criminals. Hungarian laws regarding war criminals were too strict. This is why Agoston Valentin, Minister of Justice, resigned in 1945. The leading Social-democrat, he issued orders and regulations concerning war criminals which were similar to those of the Nurnberg international court. In my opinion, the majority of the sentences handed down to war criminals were disproportionately strict."

C. The Army:

"The Hungarian army either assumed a passive role during the revolution, or through individual members or groups it participated actively on the side of the revolution. I did not hear of one single case during the revolution of army groups taking up the fight with . . . with freedom fighters. Later, when I arrived in the free West, I heard of a case that allegedly took place in Esztergom.

"I personally witnessed in the evening of Oct. 23rd on the corner of Rakocsi Ut (Rakoczi Avenue) that a motorized infantry company was sent out to quell the revolt at the radio station in which workers and students fought, and I saw them handing over their arms to the people surrounding them after just a little while. A few days later, I personally witnessed the armored division of Pilieszanto who refused

to engage in the fight, and assumed a passive role."

Asked about differences of various army groups, respondent says:  
"Obviously there were differences. But the differences were caused by the different behaviour of the commanders of the various units."

"I know of no differences in the behaviour of soldiers coming from various social backgrounds."

Asked whether he was surprised by the army's actions during the revolution, he says:

"I certainly was greatly surprised because I was aware of the fact that the officers' corps of the Hungarian army consisted of reliable elements, and these people were constantly politically trained, and were under very strict control and supervision. Proportionately, they were well paid. Knowing how much power a military commander has, and what the atmosphere in army units is all over the world, I thought that in regular army units the soldiers can be forced to engage into combat with revolutionaries and to take part in capturing freedom fighters. But the revolution proved that even with the help of political officers, and with a system of informers, the regime failed to force the Hungarian army to fight against the people. It even demonstrated that many smaller groups and individuals sided with the revolution. I was genuinely surprised."

D. Russian troops: When respondent is told that some people think that Hungarian feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848, this is his reaction: "This is completely out of question. No sentiments connected with those events are surviving in people's minds. The bitter memories of the Hungarian people stem from the behaviour of the Red Army from the experiences the Hungarian had with them when they marched into Hungary, while resisted by the Hungarian army in that period, and revealed how they behaved if there were no restrictions on them. They merited great unpopularity, and in fact a lot of hatred. This is all the more significant because the average Hungarian - the Hungarian people definitely sympathized and extended a warm friendship to Russian prisoners of war during the first World War. In fact, Hungarian soldiers who participated in the first World War in Russia, remember the Russian people as good, willing, warm-hearted people and this was the picture the Hungarian people had of the Russians



before 1945. But the experiences they had with them in 1945 at once changed the picture. In fact, those experiences prevented the Hungarian people from easily changing its opinion again for the better. The Red Army behaved as a despotic usurper power as an imperialistic, conquering army which did not stop ~~there~~ there, as most imperialistic, conquering armies stop, but interfered with the ~~personal life of the individual~~ personal life of the individual. Innumerable cases could be quoted about rapes, lootings and wanton destructions and murders of the members by the Red Army which however would take too much time."

Probed for what he and others ~~expected~~<sup>ex</sup>pected of the Russians before they actually entered Hungary, respondent says:

"Neither I, nor others, expected that the Russians would come as as liberators- distributing food to the population and the forceful requisitions of that army were not resented half as much as the undescribably brutal rapes on a very large scale, and the savage brutalities with which the average Russian soldier behaved in all most every instance."

Asked about changing in his attitude toward the Russian army since 1945, and in changes of his friends, respondent says:

"The members of the Red Army were looked upon by the Hungarian people as ~~parts~~ parts of an imperialistic occupation army. Wherever they appeared in streetcars, buses, or in the streets, people considered them ~~as~~ members of a foreign, subjugating power. The only exceptions were the members of the New Class - the favored groups of communists."

"Speaking of the role of the Russian soldiers in the revolution, respondent says:" This was the attitude with which the Hungarian people looked upon Russian troops that appeared on the scene in the revolution, but at the same time I should remark that the object of hatred was not the individual soldier but the Army of which he was a member and the imperialist power which that army was representing, and the hatred of the Hungarian people was directed anyway against its own traitors - that is to say the AVH officers than against the occupation army. That this is true was clearly revealed by the behaviour of Russian soldiers during the revolution. Many of them sided with the revolution. I personally witnessed such a case at the Astoria Hotel (Interviewer's note: Respondent described that in detail in his account of chronological events).

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The sentiment of the people was happy and ready to accept deserting Russian soldiers into its midst. The greatest force was inducing Russian soldiers not to keep fighting relentlessly against the Hungarian. The first Russian troops which were deployed to fight revolutionaries were morally beaten before they could have even fired a shot. These soldiers noticed after a few days that they were not fighting Fascists. The individual Russian soldier clearly realized that he was not fighting Fascists or aristocrats but that he was fighting the entirety of the Hungarian people. Thus generally speaking, they were actually fighting Hungarian freedom fighters. After the first few days, officers - Russian political officers - forced them at gun point to fire at the revolutionaries."

Coming back to speak of contacts between Russian soldiers and the Hungarian population, respondent said:

"Before the revolution, I was not aware of any contacts between the population and Russian soldiers, nor did I hear that Russian soldiers went with Hungarian girls, and I particularly have not heard that any marriages between Hungarian girls and Russian soldiers have taken place."

Asked about cases in which Russian soldiers sided in one way or another with Hungarians, respondent says:

"I saw that Russian soldiers fought each other on the corner of Dohany Street and Dob street. Russian tanks were firing at each other; I presumed that this was due rather to misunderstanding than to their actual intentions."

E. Government officials:

"I heard of cases of government officials who were willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble. In my view, the actions of such officials were springing from two sources - either their financial advantages which they explicitly demanded, or at least happily accepted - for instance at the Housing Bureau of Budapest others might have acted in this fashion to secure themselves ~~something~~ something to have in credit. A third reason was much more rare - that was moral conviction. There were those who risked much just to help others." ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"There were cases in the life of the police state in which one could get around some of the regulations. Connections through relatives, or good friends, played the most important part in these. To an even greater extent, perhaps, were bribes used; persuasions played a very minor part, I think."

"Officials who were caught were very severely punished, except if that official was careful enough to cover himself by securing a co-operation of his superiors which co-operation was secured by briberies by sharing with them, of course."

G. Competence of leaders:

Asked about the competence of the secret police, respondent says:  
"My personal experience with the AVH was that there Moscow-trained officers were highly efficient. They had fantastically cunning ways. If they had an assignment to get a person confessed to something, they had ways not only of brutal torture but also twisting and turning and promising, intimidating and everything else to get that confession from that person. The ones who had no training and "professional experience" in Soviet Russia were less efficient."

Asked about the Hungarian Army leadership, respondent says:  
"I have no personal knowledge but my impressions are that the top leaders of the Hungarian army also belong to a new class - that is to say, they are similarly lacking in dedication as were most army leaders of the Horthy era. They live in pomp and luxury as parasites of the working people."

Speaking of the Russian army leadership, respondent says:  
"I have no first hand knowledge of them, either, but I presume they are at least as good as they were in the second World War and no doubt had tactical as well as strategical knowledge, know-how and the cunning that is so characteristic of Russian leaders as well as Communist leaders, let alone if somebody is both."

Asked about the efficiency of bureaucracy, he said: "That was good for nothing. The good ones were selected and discharged. It was not personal efficiency but favoritism of the new class that made people stay and assume higher positions."

ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next few years:

"The world has arrived in the atomic age. This fact has ruled out war. War would mean world disaster - proportions beyond belief - and would lead to extermination of mankind. This is known by both major powers. There are no war-making isolation possible between continents. This fact may lead to the perpetuation of ~~existing~~ state boundaries and might lead to the perpetuation of the situation behind the iron curtain in one way or another. In eastern Europe however, communism has become a failure. There are signs that even in Soviet Russia the intellectuals are rising against the oppressive regime and are looking for avenues leading to freedom. This pressure will, sooner or later, affect Soviet society. If they avoided a world war at all costs, as I think a world war is ruled out, thus they would expose themselves to an inner pressure - an inner pressure which will affect changes. Changes affecting their situation and connections all over the world!

"The leaders of the Soviet Union are bent on the control of the entire world. They don't launch another war because they are aware that such would lead to their own destruction as well. But they want to use the indeterminateness and weakness, and lack of dynamic action on the side of the West by sitting on the fence, they will use this attitude of the West for gaining more ground. They are anxious to seize all of Asia, hoping that in the nations that are by now, or later will be liberated from Western imperialism, they will find a fertile ground for their own designs, and the same is true about Africa. They hope that communism will actual gain ground in these two countries, and the balance of power throughout the world will be tipped to their side, and they hope that from this upsetting of the balance of power of the world, that they will accomplish their aspirations for world rule.

"It is my conviction that the situation in Hungary cannot solidify. The Soviets will be compelled to find another way out, - of the difficulties at hand. Their existence - just keeping things as they are - just multiplying their difficulties."

Speaking more of the problem of war between the USSR and the USA, respondent says:

"It is imaginable that things will shift in Soviet Russia in favor of a war. The actual source of power in Soviet Russia is the army. Khrushchev is a tool, a puppet of the army, who defeated his rivals by leaning on the army. The Red Army is led by imperialistically inclined officers who may become ~~xxxxxx~~ drunk with power and trigger happy by their alleged or in certain areas the actual preponderance over the ~~West~~ free world. They may play boldly in trying to blackmail the West into more concessions. Such actions on their part may either force the West into a suicide, or compel it to take a very firm stand against such."

"This might lead to a more or less accidental explosion."

"Mankind has to do everything in its power to prevent the outbreak of a world war. It's protection can be afforded by awakening the spiritual forces in humanity. The intellectual and the moral forces that are available in humanity to achieve world unity instead of world destruction."

"This is why the crushing of the Hungarian revolution is a tragedy for both the West and the East. It is a tragedy for the West because it proved that it is ready to give up its confessed principles, intellectual and spiritual and political for its momentary alleged advantages. For the East, it has become a tragedy because this unlimited terror is a deadend street, and it would prove a deadend street even if temporarily it could swallow the entire world in its power-craze. The solution could mean now, practically speaking, the unification of all of the free countries of Europe. If a United States of Europe would become a reality, the Soviet threat could and should induce the European countries to decide for such a great historical move. In Europe's past history, there are still spiritual, intellectual and moral forces dormant which could unite the entire world...in dedication to human freedom against despotism. And this could affect even other nations throughout the world that cherish freedom in many cases, just recently won, that the entire world would unite against the world imperialism of the Soviet Union which could dissuade even that from running against the wall of the entire world."

B. Hopes in Retrospect:

"I have never belonged to the optimists - if for nothing else than avoiding possible disillusionments. I have always been pessimistically inclined. I tried to be as objective as possible, and to respect the solid facts of reality. I never believe in a date set for liberation, nor in predictions that liberation would come within a certain period of time. But I not for one moment renounced my hope that eventually Hungary would be free from oppression.

"People in Hungary usually speculated on coming events according to their individual background, and way of thinking. Optimists believed in a possibility of liberation in the near future. Pessimists gave up all hopes for any liberation - even in the long run. Such a renouncing made people unspeakably bitter and gloomy and in fact, it even shortened the life periods of such persons. The loss of hope means giving up one's inner life. Irrespective of such individual inclinations, there were waves among people which waves largely depended on fluctuations in foreign policy - matters of the world. The central topic of all of these ~~speculations~~ speculations was, of course, the liberation of Hungary."

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Independent Hungary:

"I would like to imagine a future Hungary a kind of a state in which the human rights are completely secured, which is identical in the applications of human freedoms with the practices of the Western democracies. At the same time, I am dreaming of a Hungary which has great social achievements (Interviewer's note: This expression may not mean much in English - I could translate it also by saying: social legislation) and which realizes the welfare of the nation and social equality to the possible greatest extent."

B. Details on Economy:

"A liberated Hungary should be part of a greater economic unity. In an ideal situation, this would be United States of Europe, but economically speaking, there are tremendous differences between the European states which would be parts of such a large union of states. Western Europe, with its tremendous economic and industrial development and Eastern Europe with its backwardness, but there is a unity of very great similarity of the countries in and around the Danubian basin. If Hungary would be liberated alone, as there was a tremendous chance for such a liberation during the revolution, in that case, its own realities should be the point of departure for establishing an economic ~~concern~~ system in it. This would mean that it ought to emphasize agriculture and industry to the same extent. The climate and the geographical and geological conditions in Hungary would warrant striving toward the ideal of a so-called ~~Hungary~~ "Garden-Orchard Hungary", that is to say, Hungary should change from growing cereals from establishing vegetable gardens and orchards throughout the country - to an extent that would change Hungary from the "Bread-basket of Europe" into the "Garden-Orchard of Europe".

Speaking of industry, respondent says: "Contrary to the industrial policies of the Soviet Union forced upon Hungary which included a tremendously exaggerated emphasis on heavy industry, I would suggest that industries use raw materials coming from Hungary and industries of precision instruments should be emphasized."

Speaking of what should happen to national enterprises in a free and independent Hungary, respondent says:

"National enterprises should become the property of the people. Either is a way in which small shareholders group together to establish enterprises or in the way Worker's Councils during and after the revolution!"

Speaking of kolkhozes and state farms, respondent has this to say:

"The land of state farms ~~should be available to those workers who have no property at all, and the land of the kolkhozes should be available to those farmers whose farms became part of the kolkoz. At the same time, of course, such kolkhozes as are prosperous enough and have consented to remain on a cooperative basis should be permitted to function as they see fit, because cooperatives should be encouraged. The freedom to unite with~~  
.....but the freedom to unite with agricultural cooperatives be secured to any one who wishes to use it. But even the semblance of force must naturally be eliminated forever."

"The government of a future independent Hungary should truly be the government of the people. This means the ideal form of a representative democracy. In the light of this consideration and considering that most heavy industries, or large industries have been developed greatly in the last decade, ~~many~~ many even doubled their size - war: in the light of these two considerations were, would be unjust to return large industries to their former owners. These industries were developed in the last years because the workers were so terribly exploited. Thus literally speaking the structure of the Hungarian industry at its present stage was cemented by the sweat of the workers. The basic industries - the key industries - should remain a social property. The property rights of the other industries should be regulated according to principles of justice and common sense. Private initiative should be not only permitted but encouraged and helped, particularly in conditions of small trade and small commerce. The more and smaller the industries are that can be created the better. ~~economic~~ Economy should be regulated by the basic principles of freedom and justice. Laws enacted in this field should be based upon these basic principles. In rearranging Hungarian economy, the bitter experiences of the past ten years should be counseled but also the possibilities which in short would mean "Third Road" in the economic field. Referring to the principles of the work of Ropke "The Third Road" - those economic principles might mean a workable system under present and future conditions in Hungary which may be expected after liberation.



Speaking of two possible kinds of government, respondent has this to say:

"Human life without freedom is senseless and bad and valueless. One can develop the inherent talents only if he is free. Even if life is harder under a free form of government, I chose freedom under any circumstances."

Asked about the Communist Party in an independent Hungary, respondent said:

"I would by no means be for outlawing the Communist Party. It would conflict with my ideas of freedom and besides, a movement driven underground has always more attraction than if it is out in the open. There is one thing, however, I would not like and that is the functioning of organizations disguised as democratic organizations but actually working under communist leadership or sponsorship, and working for the realization of communist goals. I would not permit such a front organizations for the simple reason that they would be cheats because they would say one thing and do another. People must not be permitted to apply large scale deceit and then to work under false names as far as a political organization is concerned but the moment they profess their aims and pronounce their policies and name things by their names, they should have freedom, too. By the way, Communism in Hungary would carry no weight at all; the Party would under best circumstances receive not more than one or two percent of the votes. Even my idealist friends who actually renounced communism by that time and renounced it certainly in the form that it was practiced amounted to not more than five per cent of the votes going for the Communist Party in Hungary."

#### G. International position:

"Under ideal circumstances, I see a Hungary as part of the United States of Europe. In my view a united Europe could not, and would not want to distinctive marks of nations, but it would certainly do away with the political and economical barriers between nations. Nations would remain independent in their cultural development and would become production centres of culture. Nations would add their special colors represented by their special historical backgrounds; by their specific customs and traditions - their specific of thinking and expressing themselves. They would add that special color to the spectre of the intellectual life of such a United States of Europe. I would object to any kind of regimentation and conformism. I would very strongly object to the notion that the special cultures as ~~is~~ expressed in music, dance, traditions and so on should cease to exist."

"Until such a United States of Europe may be brought into existence, temporarily a Danubian Federation could function as a wholesome unit of states. There are a great many ties, which especially bind these people - the Danubian Valley - and thus there should be an even more coherent force persuading them to unit even within a United States of Europe - they could mean a regional unit - a larger regional unit.

"The ~~various~~ relations of such a regional unit to the USSR would be determined by the circumstances by which this union of states came about, with particular reference as to how they were liberated from Soviet rule. If such a Union of States could not be liberated at once and Hungary would first become free and its best course of action would be to be completely ~~with~~ neutral. It could pattern its neutrality to that of Austria. It would be very important for such a neutral Hungary to strengthen the ties of friendship and good cultural relations with its neighboring countries of Eastern Europe, even if it could not participate in the preparation of their eventual liberation, a neutral Hungary could become a key attraction for their eventual liberation. A neutral Hungary should maintain friendly relations with all other countries, which is not trying to annihilate its freedom or its neutrality or its democratic way of life.

"As I say, under actual circumstances I imagine a United States of Europe. Second to this would be a Danubian Federation. A third possibility would be a neutral Hungary, but I can also imagine a case which I would not call ideal but could be a reality, namely, Hungary's liberation under circumstances which would necessitate its becoming part of a Western alliance - military alliance. Naturally, such a case could not be excluded and in such a situation Hungary would be militarily allied with that bloc which liberated it. Although I see no practical ways for such a liberation, and I engage into this speculation only on a theoretical basis. Trying to indicate that I can imagine many ways for getting somewhat closer to an ideal situation.

"Something similar is true about economic relations, namely, those which greatly depend under what circumstances Hungary would be liberated, as already indicated in the paragraph above."



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"All minorities within and beyond borders should have the right to live its own way of life - to develop its own culture on the basis of mutuality and brotherly understanding."

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## THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

### A. World Events:

Asked about the secret speech of Khrushchev to the Twentieth Party Congress, respondent said: he heard about it only from the broadcasts of Western radio stations. (He thought that this speech was designed to open a new era in which the Stalinists would be pushed back) and in the American Activities Committee in Hungarian papers. But I trusted in no way the news of Hungarian papers. I was only sure in this certain case that the connotation is hardly reflecting the truth but I could form no opinion as to whether what the actual situation was like."

"I heard about the Fall of Peron also by reading Communist newspapers. I thought of him as a dictator - in other words, I considered him a foe of democracy, just as I consider Franks an enemy of democracy, and not even the fact that I was, and we were, under a much bloodier oppression didn't prevent me from feeling that he deserved his fate. Moreover, I thought that the existing dictatorships in the Western World give a basis to the Soviet Union to point at those saying that this is the way human affairs are regulated in the Western world and at the same time they also prevent the formation of a strong actually free world."

Speaking of Rakosi's private life, respondent says: " Until 1953, I knew nothing more but that a large safety ~~organization~~ police organization was responsible for defending him, and that he had a private villa on the Estenhegy and I knew that no mortal could come even close to the area of that villa. Although only Party members participated in building the villa of Rakosi, they, or at least some of them spilled the beans that it was villa built in luxury beyond imagination of a common citizen. I knew of similar secrets concerning his summer home in Balatonaliga. I knew that the police apparatus designed to protect Rakosi is many times the size that was used for protecting the Minister President of the former era. I may add that this is increasingly true about other leaders of this Communist aristocracy. The man-hours used by the apparatus designed to protect and serve them was many times the size of what was used by the most prominent aristocrats or capitalists of the former regime."

B. Sources of personal information:

"I drew most of my information about what was happening in the world from foreign radio stations. This source was the most important for me. Next in importance came the news received by word of mouth."

C. Word of Mouth:

"I received lots of news by word of mouth and it was amazing how many of the communist officials spilled the beans and how easy it actually was to know of impending or just about impending changes, as well as of those that just ~~xx~~ had taken place. Later, of course, when those former associates and friends who for awhile went very far to the left and then came back again to the "Third Side" were usually well-informed and they told things of confidential nature. But even a great many news items circulated throughout the country and it was amazing how ~~xxx~~ reliable most of them proved to be. Of course, a judicious selection was very good because there were red herrings among them, and in fact, all kinds of rumours as well as truth. But, still as I say, at least the majority proved to be true."

D. Reading habits:

"As a person of genuine intellectual interest, I have always read a great deal. Although reading became very difficult in the Communist era because the immensely strained work which we had to perform every day prevented me from reading as much as I wanted to. Particularly during the period while my wife worked in a job I was forced to help her when we got home with the household chores and that left even less time for reading."

"Before 1945 I read an immense number of books - classics as well as modern -valuable literature trying to keep abreast of the intellectual development of the greatest minds that shared their knowledge with people through books.

"Even after 1945, and during the years of communism when little of the greatest works of Western literature was available, I tried to find the cooperation of librarians to get hold of such books, and when I had no opportunity to read such, I went back as most people did to classics of Hungarian as well as world, literature.

"I did not regularly read the Communist papers. I just glanced through it and if there were significant events, I sometimes read the entire

news item, but usually the headlines were enough to give a fair picture- to give a chance to surmise what actually happened."

Speaking of magazines, I started reading magazines only when the buds of resistance were showing and particularly when resistance was becoming more and more vocal in magazines. Poems of outstanding authors - poems which already spoke the language of freedom before the revolution and were thus instrumental in bringing about the revolution were copied by a great many of us and given to friends and this was the way we received many of such."

Asked once more about Communist newspapers, respondent says:  
"I had no confidence in Szabad Nep whatsoever (Official Party organ). I did not trust any of their news items or even their statistics because it was my many fold experience that they twisted and distorted everything to suit their own purposes. "any conspicuous contradictions could be found sometimes on the same page of the Communist paper.

"Speaking of magazines, I read the Marxist-Leninist magazine TARSADALMI SZEMLE. I read that particularly between the years 1947-1950, and particularly during my captivity. It was a great study to see how careless the editors were in publishing articles which all tried to be very communistic and still inadvertently refuted each other in a great many instances. (Interviewer's note: Respondent brings up several striking examples of this but I don't think I should list them because this interview has already become too voluminous).

"I didn't read any publications coming from either Yugoslavia nor Poland, nor did my friends so far as I know. As I have already mentioned, papers of the opposition, namely; IRODALMI UJSAG, HETFOI HIRLAP, and CSILLAG were eagerly read by me and my friends when they started assuming their role of resistance.

"I received, illegally, some fifteen or sixteen issues of the German edition of Reader's Digest. I read those issues very carefully. I received those from Western diplomats. I also read a science-fiction novel which I illegally obtained, but that was all.

"I read for some time, quite regularly, the Austrian Communist newspaper, DER ABEND. In spite of the fact that was a communist paper, it was edited and published in the West after all and it opened a little window to the West, and the paper gave a chance to look at cultural life of Vienna and it gave us a taste of freedom in the Western world.

"I took the copies of the German edition of Reader's Digest home and hid them and read parts in translation to my family.

"From 1953, I was not so afraid of keeping such publications nor were people whom I knew. But one had always to think of an AVO search and one had to hid them very carefully. Exceptions were the publications which were on the list of proscribed books which actually outstanding works of Western literature but were banned from the Soviets. Take for instance, one of the books of Andre Gide, or the proscribed works of ~~Imre~~ Desso Szabo and László Németh. Ridiculous as it may seem, in 1950 and 1951 at the height of persecution of the intellect, books of Jokai and Mikszath were also proscribed and had to be delivered to paper mills to make pulp from them, and of course we didn't want to get rid of such books proportionately insignificant as they were, and we hid them."



EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia:

"I think most people in Hungary don't believe in either slow changes or in revolution within Soviet Russia. The horrifying power of the police organization in the Soviet Union has suppressed all strivings for freedom. It managed to exterminate those attempts at gaining freedom which were made in the twenties and in the thirties in the Soviet Union. Many were nipped in the bud at the time of the forceful introduction of kolkhozes. Meanwhile, a new generation grew up - the old ones who had still lived under the regime of the Czar have just about died out by now and are dying off, and the new generation has been raised and educated by the Communists. Of course, they have not managed to kill the natural longing for freedom which is inherent in every human soul, but Communism has been able to make the mentality of the most people fall enough to suppress their initiative powers. I still don't believe that in the long run, Communism can survive. Every dictatorship will sooner or later cease to exist. It will be forced to give ground gradually democratization, or it will become a dismal failure. Still leaders of the Soviet Union may plunge the world into a disaster in their power-craze. Particularly if pressures within the Soviet Union will keep growing, following from the nature of such things if the intellectuals don't become revolutionary and will not take over the leaders of the Soviet Union are likely to seek a way out of the dilemma by going the way of imperialism - by embarking upon imperialism, they hope to stir up the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Chauvinistic feelings of the Soviet population. its desire for aggrandisement, of its territory and power, and this is how they hope to channel the pressures into an avenue which is in the line of their designs. I am aware of the signs (I have been particularly aware since the Hungarian revolution) the signs ~~of~~ which clearly point to the awakening, awareness of Soviet intellectuals and students. I know also from the accounts of the many prisoners of war who had first hand experience in Soviet Russia that there is a new class in Soviet Russia as well and in all satellite countries which is power-drunk, and I as well as the Hungarian people in general, are convinced that the Soviet people are also oppressed by their rulers. People, no doubt, are desirous of ~~xxxx~~ ridding themselves from their oppressive rules, but those rulers have very well developed methods ~~of~~ and means at their disposal to crush any attempt at overthrowing, or transforming, their regime.

"If Russia had free elections, in my opinion, there will come a period of transition until they can actually establish a working democracy. Completely free elections would be held only after this period of transition of twilight - democracy would actually lead to a genuine democratic era.

When respondent is told that this is not the point of the question, and it explains that this is a theoretical question, presupposing ideal conditions, he amplifies his statement by saying:

"I am persuaded that the majority of the Russian people would vote for a democratic form of government."

Asked about the top leaders of Russia, respondent says:

"They are the most powerful members of the new class, which is the product of every communist society. In order to get to such a high position, the person has to be completely divorced from any moral considerations or feelings and has to be a person obsessed by craving for absolute power. Their craving must be so great that they rather assume the role of subservient lackeys just to get to the desired position.

"Their aims are determined by Leninist-Stalinist ideology which clearly pronounces the ultimate goal of communism: revolutionizing the entire world and establishing <sup>undisputed</sup> control over the earth.

"These leaders completely disregard the humane aspects of life. They in fact, distort reality in their minds, and if they are confronted with reality with its hard facts of life, they escape in their minds from them, into their own theories of ~~ideology~~ communist ideology, and they can't even - more stubbornly - stick to the ideological precepts. Their ~~main~~ strength is their obsession with power - their power, ambitions, seem to surpass any other basic human driving forces.

"The Hungarian top-leaders are a pattern to the Soviet top-leaders. They also derive their principles from communist ideology - their way of life, their thinking processes are tied to the apron-string of their Moscow models, and they are also escaping from the realities of life into the artificially created mental castles of ideology - just as the Soviet leaders."

41-M  
HLR

XVI /112

B.

Eastern Europe:

"The ~~most~~ most popular country in Hungary was Poland and Yugoslavia was second. East Germany as a third, and then Romania, Bulgaria and at the very end, Czechoslovakia. The predilections are directed to the peoples and not toward any government and their dislikes are directed toward the governments and not to the peoples. This sequence by the way is dictated in Hungarian minds by the love of freedom. Poland was highly regarded after the Poznan riots and East Germany after the Berlin uprising. Tito was highly disliked but the Yugoslav people who managed to maintain a relative independence from Soviet Colonialism was appreciated, but even Tito was regarded superior to the Hungarian Communist leaders.

"I had no contact with Bulgaria and Czechoslovaks in the last few years"

This is respondent's estimate of the elections of East European countries:

"Every nation in Eastern Europe would reject communism, and would win landslide victories over communist candidates if a genuinely free election could be held. The largest percentage of those going to communists would be in Czechoslovakia and in Bulgaria because in these two countries, there is definitely some sympathy for the Soviet Union. On the one hand, so, but on the other hand it is motivated also by their fear of the Germans."

Asked about the standards of living, in East European countries, respondent give t is sequence: "Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria ."

C. Polish: "Polish and Hungarian events had an immense mutual effect upon each other. The mutual effect particularly became strong after the events in Poznan. The Hungarian people looked with great admiration and appreciation up to the Polish people after their demonstration of love for freedom. All the more, since according to Hungarian tradition the Polish have always been regarded as freedom-loving people. For awhile we Hungarians thought that we could not stand up in a bold action against Communist oppression, and thus the Poles were genuinely admired.

"Apparently the Polish people drew their conclusions from the experiences made at Poznan. The Polish secret police sided with Gomulka in the subsequent development. It was the Polish secret police itself that requested its ostentatious standing in order to lessen the violent hatred

of the Polish people. It was the Polish secret police who blocked the streets of Warsaw and was ready to shoot it out with the Soviet Army of Rokossowski.

"The Polish changes made a profound impression upon the Hungarian people and were instrumental in the fact that Hungary developed and whence came to an explosion. Hungarian changes have stopped at a transition phase which with the help of the Premiership of Imre Nagy and by the introduction of gradual changes had the Hungarian leaders not been so blind as to provoke the ire of the population.

"It was the role of the Soviet army in crushing the Hungarian revolution that frightened the Polish people from taking the same course of action. They feared less their revolution would also be transported into a "blood bath".

"This basic fact determines the policies of Gomulka. In my opinion, Gomulka is a Communist who, however, wants to establish an independent communist system in Poland. He, however, has recognized that he cannot count on the West for help, nor can he think of a favorable attitude on the part of the Soviets. This realization hampers Gomulka from going forward with his actions. He is afraid of a bloody revolution, because he clearly realized that the West would bet Poland down just as it led down Hungary, and he is realistic enough to see that the Soviet Union would subjugate Poland more. His attitude is also influenced by the problem that exists in the matter of the Oder-Neisse border between Poland and Germany.

"Gomulka tries to cooperate with the Catholic Church as a means of curbing the revolutionary sentiments of the Polish people. Future will tell ~~xxxx~~ whether he will succeed or not."

Asked what he knew of Polish developments before the Poznan riots, respondent says:

"It was only in connection with the Poznan riots that we took cognizance of the relaxations in Poland. It was mainly in Polish newspapers that we learned what was going in Poland. The ... Writers assn. watched very carefully the Polish press organs. Through a friend of mine, I also learned about the visits of a Polish cultural organization, and it was through this delegation that I learned of a freer and more national way of thinking in Poland that later was prevalent in Hungary. Most Hungarians - I think most all - knew of Poland after the Poznan riots.

41-M  
HLR

XVI /114

"I learned only later that the Party leadership and within the .....Writers Assn. had had knowledge even before the Panan riots of the Polish "Thaw". But from the summer of 1956, both from the IRODALMI UJSAG and HETFOI HIRLAP started publishing more and more items referring to Poland. It was also the IRODALMI UJSAG whose pages read of the Czech Writers Congress - or convention, which took place in the summer of 1956, and also in a freer atmosphere. We learned that there were Czech writers who had been silenced for over a decade and now had a chance to speak again. "

Asked what he would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along the Polish lines, he answered:

"It is very difficult to answer this question. I think the Hungarian would have remained victorious if had the free world taken a firm stand; if it had not wavered; if Pres. Eisenhower would not have announced that he never encouraged people to rise against great odds; taking a determined stand in support of the Hungarian revolution would have saved the success of the first phase of the revolution, and that would have started unmistakably significant developments all over the region of Eastern Europe. I am persuaded that this is so because on October 31st, Moscow Declaration was not only a trick - it was not only humbug, but it represented a step made by the Soviet Union in despair and it reflected their stand which was ready to reconcile itself to the fact. ~~xxxx~~ Particularly lest the masses in East German would rise. However, it was not prepared for facing and supporting such changes and since it was not prepared but only for this reason, for no other reason, by itself may I say that I wish now in ~~xx~~ retrospect because of lack of support coming from the free world, I would have preferred if the Hungarian developments had taken place along Polish lines. All the more, because if both Poland and Hungary had taken the same path, they could mutually have supported each others developments. But it is worth consideration whether the stupendous significance of the Hungarian revolution in the development of the entire world would not be missed now if it had not taken place. I think that the time will come when History will register the fact that the failure of world-communism started with the Hungarian ~~xxxxxxxx~~ revolution of 1956"

D. Yugoslavia: Asked about Tito, respondent said: " I don't consider him the originator of National Communism. We find in Yugoslavia a very curious

mixture of various countries in Eastern Europe. What it could be termed "Independent Communism", or perhaps we could name it Communism, or socialism, or rather but "Gorilla Rule" during the fights carried out by gorillas against the German occupation force in Yugoslavia, the Gorilla leadership of Tito assumed such an important role that they were able to man all of the higher positions- all the key positions- in national life, on the national as well as on the local level, and they were able to establish a class recruited from the former gorillas. Thus we may speak of a Gorilla-class rule in Yugoslavia.

"I'm not inclined to compare Tito's system with that of Gomulka or with the 1953 Hungarian situation. While in those countries, in 1953 Hungary, in 1956 Poland, democratic forces coming from below pushed developments ~~into~~ towards democracy. In Tito's Yugoslavia, the situation has petrified and the new aristocracy holds everything in its hands. Internationally speaking, Tito handled things skillfully. He managed to cut himself loose from the Soviet bloc and this is why he has been able to assume a powerful position on the international scene in Europe as well as in the world. He has assumed the role by far exceeding his actual weight and importance and the more the East and the West pulled asunder, the more powerful Tito's position became."

Speaking of Tito's relations with other countries, respondent says: "Tito has managed to take unfair advantage of the West by extorting economic aid and all kinds of forms of assistance. Later he did the same to the East. He extorted substantial economic advantages from the Soviet Union.

"Apparently he does not want to change his position and his policies because this in-between position gives him the greatest possible advantage he can take of the West as well as of the East.

"Best on maintaining his own power on the international scene as well, as on the national scene, the kind of behaviour Tito displayed toward the West and toward Russia characterized his attitude also toward Hungary. While the breach between the Soviet Union and between Yugoslavia was in the forefront of events, Moscow regarded Rakosi as a reliable, and his regime as an advanced patrol in the fight with Tito. Tito remembered this well when a reconciliation with the Soviet Union was achieved and this is why he demanded that Rakosi must go as a price for cooperation with the Soviet Union. Thus Tito greatly contributed to Rakosi's fall.

41-M  
HLR

XVI /116

The action was actually taken by Molotov and Kaganovich. This was at the time when Bulganin was in England but before Rakosi was actually dismissed there was some complication, while namely, Bulganin and Khrushchev was in London and Molotov and Kaganovich wrote letters to the party leaderships of the satellite countries to the effect that they should not trust Tito and that the Soviet Union's reconciliation with Tito is not genuine but only a tactical maneuvering. I heard from friends in the opposition of the Communist Party and in the Writer's Assn. that - I learned this from them through connections established in the Petofi Circle. Tito in return, so the story went on, learned about the action of Molotov and Kaganovich from Polish sources and he protested very vigorously to Moscow and it was then that Mikoyan was sent first to Budapest and then to Belgrade and we might say, carried the head of Rakosi on a plate. This was done to convince Tito that the conciliation with him was genuine. Tito, however, was not so much concerned with actual internal developments in Hungary as he was concerned with establishing new and reputable relations with the Soviet Union and this is why he, although he had contact with Imre Nagy was already ready to drop him and was ready to drop the associates of Rakosi and was ready to enter into agreement with ~~Imre Nagy~~ <sup>and Hegedus</sup> Gere, as a result these two ~~men~~ <sup>men</sup> paid a visit to Tito right before the revolution. The main reason why Tito was ready into agreement with Gere and Hegedus was that Imre Nagy was reluctant to acknowledge the tremendous obligations Tito demanded from Hungary. Imre Nagy was reluctant to sign an agreement with Tito fulfilling his demands at a terrific amount of reparation to be paid by Hungary. Gere and Hegedus were willing to pay any amount reparations because they did not care about the condition of the Hungary people. These latter were ready to pay \$85,000,000 dollars (Eighty-five million) reparations to Yugoslavia. ~~They were in agreement with Tito~~

\*They were in agreement with Tito achieved and made and conceded and this is how it was understandable that he delivered that provocative speech on the radio in the evening of October 23rd. Gere felt after this, fear of Tito was gone, and that he was well in the saddle and that this is why he did not mince words when he delivered that speech so instrumental in bringing about the revolution.

"Tito retained his double talk during the revolution as well as afterwards. He regarded the Hungarian revolution with utter jealousy because he feared lest the Hungarian revolution would be victorious, his position, his unique and exceptional position in the world would be over for good. He was afraid that the significant he holds now because he is in between, would have been assumed by Hungary had the revolution been victorious. In conclusion, I may say, that Tito is a turncoat and will remain so because that is his only chance to play a role he likes to play."

Asked about Titoists in other satellite nations, respondent answers: "There were no conspiracies with Tito under the part of of Slansky so far as I know. It was rather the eagerness of the leaders of the Soviet Union to dispose all elements who could go eventually on the path Tito had taken, which brought about the conspiracy tirades of Slansky and Rajk."

Asked about Tito's popularity, respondent answered: "Tito is popular only in the circles of the new class of former careerists, and that he is as detested and hated by the common people as usual with communist leaders in other countries where they are rulers."

"The economy of Yugoslavia has not reached the level of pre-revolutionary Hungary...not even in spite of tremendous economic aids it received from abroad because of the internal structure of the Yugoslav state. When we first learned about this in 1953, when Hungarian athletes went to sports events in Yugoslavia, we were greatly surprised. We had thought before that Yugoslavia managed with Western help to achieve a much better standard of living. Apparently, Titoism is just as much of a prison as communism in other countries with the only difference that Tito at the same time tries on the international scene to play a role of a turn-coat with supreme cunning."

#### E. The Middle East:

"I have a devastating opinion of the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt. This probably is understandable because that tremendously influenced the development of the Hungarian situation. The moment the news of this invasion arrived in Hungary, we grew desperate and bitter, because we knew the Soviet Union would use this fact for finding an excuse for



repeated interference in Hungary's matters. This determined our stand in this matter in Hungary. We condemned and bitterly renounced the Anglo-France invasion and although we were aware that Egypt had taken steps conflicting with international right, still I think, and all of my friends and associates think, that the answer was not this brutal invasion. We couldn't help thinking that this invasion which apparently had been in preparation before, picked its time to genocide with the Hungary situation, taking advantage of the fact that the Soviet Union was tied down in Hungary, and this is why they thought they had a good chance for winning it - the invasion."

Asked about Egypt, respondent says: "In my opinion, Egypt had no right to nationalize the canal. It ought to have honored his obligations under the international agreement. Egypt's demands ought to have been settled in an international negotiation. It is my personal conviction that all such passage ways, canals - should be put under international control, and that ~~the~~ the UN police force should watch over these. It would be justified to give most of the revenues to the nation through whose area the international passageway is out."

F. West Germany:

"The living standard of West Germany is extremely high. Since 1951, the Germans have managed to build up a prosperous economy. Their prosperity is now on par with England and France and perhaps even a step ahead of those. Perhaps it is due to the fact that in the meantime they did not have to arm; they did not have to conduct colonial wars; their economy was not tied down, and every talent and energy and resources could be used for building up a prosperous economy. Another advantage was, that, since most of their industry was or had been bombed out, they now installed the most modern machinery in their plants and thus are able to produce at minimum cost."

When respondent is told that the Germans are ~~very~~ dangerous and may start another war, he answers in the following words:

"In my opinion, the Germans are not dangerous; not even if they fully re-arm, they wouldn't start another war. The situation which existed before the two world wars (between the two world wars) would never return. The possibility of becoming independent great powers disappeared for Germany as well as for France and for Britain. Particularly if the economic and the political unification of these countries progresses at a pace as it has progressed in the last few years, and if the idea of a United Europe will gain ground, as it has been gaining ground in the last few years, I think the idea of a United States of Europe is becoming stronger in youth and one has not to fear the Germans any longer."

Speaking of West German strength, respondent says: "The West German Army is much weaker than that of Britain, or even that of France, because they have not much existing yet but the framework. The term of service is, if I am instructed well, one year."

Comparing the German and the Russian occupation forces, respondent says:

"I found Russian occupation forces more distasteful, in spite of the fact that I had risked for a considerable time, again and again, to fight the German occupation army in the Armed Resistance Movement. You know very well what risky tasks we shouldered just because we wanted to rid the country of oppression the German occupation army meant. You were with us when we prepared for saving the Danube bridges from being blown up by the Germans. Still, I would say that the Russian army was even worse than the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ German army because the Germans were disciplined and there was much less individual brutality than on the side of the Russians."

"This was not only my opinion, but the Russian occupation force was much more unpopular in Hungary than the German."

Q. Western Europe: Speaking of NATO, respondent says:

"The NATO was formed to defend the West from aggression of the Soviet Union, and its entire character is effective and not aggressive and therefore it cannot be compared with the Warsaw Pact and it consists of free nations whereas the Warsaw Pact is a tool for the Soviet Union for its aggressive designs."

Asked about the British Labor Party, respondent says:

"Essentially it is a liberal party in which you will find very different elements. They consider Marxism ~~as~~ the foundation for their social and economic ideology but it represents the reformist trends of Marxism. "

Asked about the West European socialist parties, respondent says:

The Western European socialist parties are actually not on the basis of historical materialism. They refer only to their Marxist foundations but actual strive to realize democratic-socialism. They are not favorably inclined to accept communism, but at the same time it is true that Communist propoganda tries to use those elements in the parties are left-wings. On the other hand, Communism is anxious to place people who foment discontent and influence the policies of those socialist parties. Right now, by the way, in their midst they consider the socialist parties their most dangerous enemies because they know that the Socialists with their radicalism are apt to take out the wind from the Communist sails. "

Asked about the living standard in various countries, this is respondent's listing: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
Great Britain, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Egypt and the Soviet Union.

H. The United States:

Asked what surprised him most, respondent answers:

"The high degree of technical ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ culture; the well-ordered relations in economy and the tremendous rate of speed of life."

Speaking of the present policy of the USA toward nations of Eastern Europe, respondent says:

"In my opinion, the United States should change their policy toward the Eastern European Countries. It ought to have a concept based on its moral convictions and on its professed principles...so that if an Hungarian type revolution would break out, the USA should not be caught as unaware and as unprepared in the case of the Hungarian revolution. At the same time, it should help those forces which drive the Eastern European countries toward gradual liberalisation. Thus, the Polish government should be helped in its trying to cut its ties with Moscow even more, and to establish an independent way of conducting policies.

"In fact, every effort at gaining more freedom, more independence and more semblance of democracy should be vigorously supported.

"So far as Hungary is concerned, the United States should do its utmost to keep the issue of Hungary always on the conference table at every international negotiation. The USA should treat a doctrine concerning Hungary, similar to that concerning the Middle East, which could be identical with the opinion of MacMillan as he revealed in a declaration in the form of a letter replying to Bulganin. The essence of that declaration was that no friendship with the Soviet Union could be spoken of until the Hungarian situation is solved in some acceptable way.

"My opinion has not gone under any changes since my arrival in the United States."

Asked further about the American government's relations with the present government of Hungary, respondent says:

"The United States have a right to deal with the matter of Hungary -it's original basis is the Yalta Agreement- a contract which the Soviet Union has broken on many points, again and again. The same is true about the Hungarian Peace Treaty which the Soviet Union has not honored in anyway, which however, should be binding for the USA and for the other countries which signed it to ~~exercise~~ apply pressure upon the Soviet Union that it should honor its obligations for allowing the Hungarian nation to work out its destiny independently.

"Summarily, I might say that there ought to be a concept realizing that the Hungarian nation which has shown its love of freedom and independence and its dedication to achieve freedom and independence on three solemn occasions - at the elections of 1945; at the elections of 1947 and in the Hungarian revolution of 1956. This nation, alone of the other eastern European nations has demonstrated ~~its~~ its dedication to democracy in three such equivocal ways should supported in gaining its freedom because it could be the key of solving the problems of the entire area.

"In all dealings with Hungary as well as with the other Eastern European nations, it should always be kept in mind that the most important is to support the people and not the rulers. Every support should be given to the people so that their resistance can be made stronger."

Asked about Western visitors in Hungary, respondent says:

"The Hungarians would like to see as many Western visitors in their country as possible because they would like Western visitors to get familiar with Hungary. They dislike the visitors who visit only the official forums of the country - the authorities and go to events which are arranged by the authorities. Such visitors are apt to go back to the West and to publish articles and deliver speeches that all is well in Hungary. The Communist techniques are well-developed to cover up every wound and to show the country in a good light. People are particularly bitter and desperate about Western visitors who go to plants and single out workers asking for their opinions. As a matter of course such workers cannot answer anything else but what they are ordered to, because they risk their life and the lives of their ~~xxxxxx~~ loved ones if they even give an ambiguous answer. No responsible person can risk the lives of his loved ones for just giving opinions to Western visitors."

Asked what the visitor should be told about Hungary before going, respondent says: "They ought to be told how they can recognize Communist propaganda; how they can manage to see things for themselves; and in other words, how they can make themselves independent from Communist guidance."

Speaking of Western books and periodicals, respondent says: "I think Hungarians in Hungary would like very much to read Western periodicals and book - anything in that line would be of much value for them."

Mentioning that Hungarian exiles could be associated with such activities, respondent says: "It would mean only good if Hungarian exiles could do something in this and other areas as well."

When the Marshall Plan is brought up, respondent says:

"The United States extended the Marshall Plan aid to assist Western Europe. The dead economy of Western Europe which suffered disastrous blows during the second World War was to be revived. This was the way its economic bloodstream was started. The Marshall Plan, in fact, became the basis for West Europe's economy and prosperity, and ~~xxxx~~ was greatly instrumental in helping Western Europe to face the aspirations of the Soviet Union with calm and confidence. Had the USA not extended aid to Western Europe in that case Western Europe could have fallen prey to the conquest of Bolshevism. The motives I ascribe to the USA are clearly pronounced in what I have said so far."

Asked why America fought in Korea, respondent says:

"I am profoundly persuaded that it was the Korea war which prevented the Soviet Union from launching more similar local wars. The Soviet Union had a plan to gain ground locally by such wars. The Korean War decided not only the ~~xxxx~~ destiny ~~xxxx~~ of South Korea, but it became an important factor in world politics. It was a serious and very well-worded answer, or warning, to the Soviet Union that its aggressive designs will be met by determined action."

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

#### J. The United Nations:

Speaking of the United Nations, respondent says:

"The UN unfortunately has not justified the hopes attached to it in people's minds. Its founders included the right to veto decisions and the Soviet Union used its veto taking very unfair advantage of its privilege. This has paralysed the UN and made it impotent. The UN is effective only in areas that are outside of the sphere of interest of the Soviet bloc. A United Nations is completely powerless in issues which arise within the Soviet scale of influence. There might however be situation that arise, such as the Hungarian revolution when the UN could do something wholesome, but the UN fatally missed a great historical opportunity in connection with Hungarian revolution. While in the Suez crisis, the Security Council was called into session within hours and they took a vigorous and rapidly forthcoming action. In the Hungarian question; omissions and delays followed one another which in the hours of decision emboldened the Soviet Union to interfere as it wished to."

41-M  
HLR

XVI / 124

"In the critical hours at the end of Oct. and in the beginning of Nov. in 1956, the UN ought to have taken the same action as it did in the Suez crisis, but even with more vigor and emphasis as it concerned Soviet Union and countries within its domain - under its control. Unfortunately, the very favorable historical moment passed and it has become highly questionable whether the UN could do something ~~effective~~ effective for Hungary's freedom and independence. But there is one thing the United Nations could do, and should do by all means. It has to keep the Hungarian problem on the surface; put it on its agenda whenever possible and it should frustrate the diplomatic moves and ends of the Soviet Union which are aimed at drowning the Hungarian revolution, not only as they did the last year, but also in ~~silence~~ ~~silence~~ on the diplomatic scene. I hope that if the Hungarian question is kept on the agenda, in this world of pressures and tensions, the Soviet Union will be forced, sooner or later, to grant concessions."

KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED PERSONALITIES

A. The Greatest living Hungarian.

"It is very difficult to answer this question. One could name several persons qualified for this title. If I am restricted to naming but one, I would perhaps chose Gyula Illyes, who in years of ruthless oppression was able to present with supreme skill events in the history of Hungary in his dramas, Events and details that inspired the Hungarian people to courage; to perseverance; to humane attitudes even under the most difficult circumstances; to honesty and decency; to clinging to independence and freedom."

B. Persons in World Affairs:

a) Imre Nagy: "He is the type of the meditating Hungarian, who acts according to his own conscience and conviction and is reluctant to force his mind or his conscience. He was young when he joined Communism; lived for over 20 years in the Soviet Union and returned only in 1944; in spite of the long period of time he spent away from Hungary, he did not cut his emotional or intellectual ties to the nation. He preserved his human dignity under all circumstances, and aside from his communist conviction, he was anxiously seeking ways out of the difficulties, and he was not bent on building up his own power but to serve the best interests of his nation. So far as his political views are concerned, I always vigorously and completely opposed them and will continue to oppose them but his honesty is unquestionable. In the case of an eventual liberalization in Hungary, his significance is surpassing that of any one else."

b) Cardinal Mindszenty: "He is the hero of Church resistance who as a consequence of the way he had been brought up, and as a consequence of his entire education preserved a conservative and somewhat reactionary social and economic views at the end of the forties. He, however, became the martyr of the Hungarian people - a martyr of his principles and his convictions."

c) Laszlo Rajk: "he was the type of the Communist, anxious to grab power, who, however, was not so far removed from realities of Hungarian life as was Rakosi, but he completely adopted the morals of the Communists. He fell into the pit he had dug for others; he adhered to the principle that the ends justify the means and the same principle caused his death."



- d) Erno Gero: "Together with Rakosi, he is the type of Soviet leader who is in power. Nothing else matters to him but to possess and wield power and to increase the power of the Soviet world. In the interests of these aims, he is willing and eager to do anything. He is zealous, ruthless, bold, relentless in pursuing his aims."
- e) Janos Kadar: "He is the type of wavering persons with a weak backbone, who can be bent by both physical and psychological means. He can be intimidated and under pressure he cannot stand up."
- f) General Bela Kiraly: "he is a person with good will and honest as a person. He is ambitious and unfortunately lacks political insight and wisdom and his good intentions are often misled into making mistakes in situations and judgments. He is very intelligent and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ is reasonable."
- g) Anna Kethly: "She is an honest person of good will who is eager to serve her nation and her nation's freedom, whose health was undermined by her years spent in Communist prison; her vision and concept is not great enough, but her integrity is unquestionable."
- h) President Eisenhower: " He is a popular leader with a jovial manner but his vision is unfortunately narrow, and he is a soldier with not enough determination and courage."
- i) Secretary-General Hammarskiold: "He is an enervated person with great lack of determination but an excellent diplomat of his own personal cause."
- j) Dolles: "He is a very smart lawyer without the necessary historical education and knowledge."
- k) Eden: " Only Churchill made him great. While he was next to Churchill he shared his significance. When Churchill disappeared from the scene, Eden became dull and insignificant and he also disappeared."
- l) Truman: "He is a person with not enough wide vision but with a great integrity and with determination and courage. If he had been elected President in 1952, world politics would have taken a different course."

3. Mikoyan: "He is a turn-coat camelian type of communist leader; so far he always sees in time which side he ought to take.

Nehru: "He is a great leader of his people in a period of crisis and turmoils but with the passivity and patience of the Oriental mind; he cannot become a leader of world significance."

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek: " He was not able to break with the corrupt class and he lost and Empire."

Ferenc Nagy: "

Roosevelt: " One of the greatest American Presidents. In domestic policies he was a giant. In world politics his role was unfavorably influence by his competition with Churchill and the lack of historical sense and horizon."

Chancellor Adenauer: "He is the outstanding figure in world politics, among the statemen of Europe of the '50s."

Stalin: "A dictator who was obsessed by self-adoration and power-craze. He was responsible for creating the most ruthless system of power in world history, and the creator of the methods of maintaining that most ruthless power."

Malenkov: "He is a smart person but too much of a compromisor and opportunist who lacks the boldness to be a dictator. After Stalin's death, he was the only person who might have directed Soviet politics into a good direction. That was impossible for him in the midst of power-mad persons."

Generalissimo Franco: " He is a good soldier, a smart dictator, but a dictator with all the short comings and faults of dictators."

Bevan: " A person seriously seeking a synthesis but is not equal to the task that he shouldered. His skill is greater than he."

Khrushchev: "He is a foxy Ukrainian peasant; a great technician and good psychologist who ~~xxx~~ aspired to become a dictator."

Titu: " Afoxy-~~skikksd~~ ~~xx~~ person with supreme skill who has no moral ~~xxx~~ principles and hardly any principles at all

Beron: "As a dictator he resembles Franko, and in addition he is corrupt."

41-M  
HLR

XVII /128

Molotov: "He is also one of those who are obsessed by the love of power. With the foxiness of a Russian muskik."

Ollenhauer: "Compared to Adenauer, his intellectual abilities are not as great as his, but he is an honest person."

Churchill: "The greatest political personality of the Twentieth Century but at present, he is perhaps senile."

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES

Characterization of escapees:

"There were various reasons which prompted people to follow the avenue of escape. As a matter of course there are very different types of people among two hundred thousand. There were persons among them who had never dreamed of a chance to go to the West, but actually had been longing to do so. Some among them had members of their families in the West who had ~~first~~ left Hungary, fleeing the Nazi's or fleeing the impending rule of the Communists, or just the strict justice of the twilight years of democracy. Others simply left Hungary because they had longed for the West as a place in which they can make an easy and good living. Most of these had left before Nov. 4. They were not interested in the victory of the revolution, but they were anxious to get out of Hungary. Most among those who escaped after Nov. 4, were driven by fear, and ~~in~~ attracted by the fascination of the Western world. About twenty-five percent of them I would estimate were persons who had to escape anyway, and the others either thought they had to escape, or just simply could not stand any longer the tremendous pressure of terror and want. A considerable number of these returned from Austria and from Yugoslavia because of the bad conditions in the camps, and because of the hopelessness of their getting re-settled in a satisfactory way. Returning to Hungary would be assumed by a larger number if they would not fear for their lives. Politically as well as morally, the most valuable group consists of those who actively participated in the revolution. Most of them are unfortunately still in camps, and in largest numbers in Yugoslavia and in Austria. They left Hungary reluctantly and only the obviousness of their impending and possibly fatal persecution and their former experiences in prisons and in internment and in slave labor camps forced and compelled them to escape. Many of those who fall into this category stayed at home - in part because they hoped that the situation would not change so much to the worse as it did; they hoped that the terror of the regime of Kadosi would not return and that they could keep their freedom even though facing deprivations or even brief terms ~~in~~ of jail. They could not cut themselves loose from their families, their homes, their friends, others wanted to escape but there was one or another among their loved ones, who could not ~~imagine~~ go through the difficulties of escape and they didn't want to leave those loved ones behind."

In the long paragraph above, respondent already has answered the question of who stayed behind and why as well as the original question.

"People in Hungary think that those who have escaped have a mission in the world to open the eyes of people in all free countries of the world to the realities of comunism and communism in Hungary especially."

"Because of the experience so many thousands of escapees made in the West - if people had had this experience at the time they would have fled, I think many less people would have actually left Hungary. People didn't even dream of encountering such terrific difficulties in finding work and homes and work compensurate to their training and expert knowledge in countries of the free West.

B. Exile Organizations and Individuals:

"I was well-informed of the activities of the exile organizations and individuals who had fled to the West. I have the feeling that most people were informed about the organizations and the exile leaders. Everybody evaluated the work of these according to his political orientation. Particularly the exiles who emerged in our democracy which we found in 1945 and which was suppressed by the occupation force of the Soviet Union and under its wings by the Hungarian Communist Parties; police apparatus. We were particularly interested in those exiles who were forced to flee Hungary under just those oppressive measures I was referring to. I knew of the Hungarian Council. I criticized the National Council it mixed itself up with exiles of the Horthy regime. I thought that they should not have amalgamated with those but should have sought another form of cooperation. I can see their point which was to gather all forces and factions to be able to extend as much help to the people in Hungary as possible. Generally speaking they over estimated the chances of the exiles, and they exaggerated the possibilities of the organization as well as of certain individuals. Thinking that they could influence international politics more than they actually could.

"Since I am actively participating myself in shaping the policies of the exiles of today and of the National Representation of Free Hungary, I naturally have been in contact with the exile organizations and individuals since leaving Hungary.

"In my opinion, the exiles and exile organizations - among them the Hungarian National Council - separated themselves from the reality in Hungary. Every section and faction of the exiles naturally preserved the picture of the state of the country in which it was when they had left, and their composition also reflected the composition of the political leadership of the country at that stage. Exceptions are only individuals, and small groups who were anxious to keep in close contact with the realities. At home, in Hungary to keep abreast of the developments, to evaluate them according to their convictions. These were personally able to do most in working in the interest of the Hungarian developments because they realistically followed those historical, social, economical and political changes which were brought about in the country proper. These did not consider political trickery - the role of the Petofi Circle - and the intellectual revolution of the writers, but considered these and similar developments natural consequences of the ~~unavoidable~~ social pressures that emanated from the deadly struggle in which Hungarian society was involved under Communist oppression. I expected and missed that the entirety of the exile leadership would identify itself with the Hungarian revolution and take a very firm and unequivocal vocal stand in its support. In our view, the Hungarian National Council should have made a solemn declaration, announcing its resignation and dispersal. It should have done so, pointing to the fact that a free government was organized in Hungary and offered its services to that free government, in the days of the victory of the revolution. This would have been outstanding political step, and at the same time, they ought to have branded the delayed tactics of Western politics which were not prompt in recognizing the government of the revolution."

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ACEN: Either personally or from friends, I heard several times that Radio Free Europe talked about the Assembly of Captive Europe Nations, and I heard of several meetings of theirs, once in N.Y., once in Strousburg and in other cities. I also heard of their declarations and I thought very much of such an organization. Since I have been in exile myself, I have become closer acquainted with this organization and I think very much of their work. I just wish they had more funds for continuing their work and they should have more attention in the American press and radio...much more publicity and more funds to carry on.

Hungarian National Councils: I knew of the Hungarian National Council and I heard them mentioned in the broadcasts of RFE and the VOA and BBC, and we spoke with friends quite often about them, and we considered them the true representation of Hungary, although we did not understand their political concept because we saw that this organization included some politicians of the era preceding the Democratic years of '45 and '46, and '47. Since I have come to this country, I have been in innumerable negotiations together with the members of the Hungarian National Council and now I think the same as I did during the revolution, namely that they ought to have resigned and declared that the government of the revolution is the true representation of Hungary and they ought to have offered their services to that government. I am terribly sorry they didn't and I am even more sorry to see that they have an awful hard time to readjust themselves to realities and that they are reluctant to see that the revolution is the all-important historical event in which the Hungarian people freely and clearly pronounced their desires and wishes. These people cling to their positions of party politics and live in the past; most of them trying to turn the clock back - at least to some extent. I wish they would recognize that they should join in spirit the Hungarian revolution."

MHBE: "I knew of the existence of the MHBE in Hungary, but I did not know anything else about it, and wondered what it looked like. When I fled to Vienna (Austria) I learned that this was an organization of former army officers, and that it was headed by General Szako. I also learned in Vienna that this organization conducted much intelligence work in Hungary and I heard charges leveled against them - that their agents were working for both sides. Mentioning this fact does not mean that I identify myself with these charges. I have had no chance to evaluate them. Here, in the USA, I got acquainted with several leaders and members of this organization and I found that they were all kinds of people among them - some whom I can appreciate and some whom I can't appreciate."

Liberal Democratic Union: "I knew only of the existence of this organization in Hungary and I didn't know anything else."

Christian Democratic Unions: "The same is true about this organization."

International Council of Free Trade Unions in Exile: I heard from RFE about their existence and work. I was happy that they left the World

Federation of Unions which was under communist influence as I understood it. I expected that this international Federation of Free Trade Unions in exile would do a great work and I particularly expected that they would liquidate the Fifth Column with which the Communists operate their trade unions. When I came to this country I got closer acquainted with this organization and I may say the same about their work as I said about the Assembly of Captive European Nations."

International Peasant Union: "I heard of their existence from RFE and I was happy that this organization was formed and I looked forward to it with great expectations. All the more since I used to be the National Chairman of the Hungarian Peasant Union. I might add the same as I did of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, speaking of this organization as I know it in the United States."

Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe: "I knew only of their existence in Hungary. Here I learned that they are very active and they helped the Hungarian Socialist Democratic Party both morally and financially."

American Hungarian Federations: "I knew of their existence from foreign radio broadcasts, and when I was in prison my wife received a gift parcel from them, and I thought that they were doing much work of charity. Here in the USA, I am sorry to say that I learned that they are under too strong right-wing influence and I learned that this influence is only recent. This influence however is disastrously damaging their moral standards and their political reliability. They claim to represent one million people but of course their membership list cannot contain even a comparable number. My rough estimate is that their membership ~~is~~ can hardly exceed a broken percentage of what they claim to represent. They get their funds from three Insurance Companies with Hungarian background."

Lathatar:.....: This was one magazine of which I heard in Hungary from friends that actually read one or two issues of it, and also read about it in communist papers. I thought very highly of them very highly at that time and now I have about the same opinion beside some too strong socialist influence I think that their standard is one quite close to my thinking and their attitude in democratic.



Hungarian high schools in exile: "Unfortunately I haven't heard anything about these."

Monsignor Bela <sup>Varga</sup> Kocsis: "While back in Hungary, I had a very good memory of his 1944-45 activities. In the Resistance Movement, he played a daring role and in laying down the foundations to a Hungarian democracy in 1945 he also had a much appreciated role. So when he was in exile, I expected much of him and I was happy that he had a leading role. I thought that he would follow the 1945 political lines. He and Ferenc would make a good combination, I thought, because Ferenc Nagy had the political wisdom and Bela Varga had a personality apt to win popularity. Thus I thought they would represent the Hungarian interests very well. Here in exile, however, I have experienced that his own personal political career is much more important for him than anything else. All of his political activities seem to be under the effect of his own personal ambitions."

Ferenc Nagy: "While in Hungary, it was Ferenc Nagy whom I trusted most. His political past and his personal qualifications both persuaded me that he was a person worthy of leading Hungarian exile representation. When I arrived in Austria, in exile, I found that Ferenc Nagy was able to realize the significance of the revolution and that his attitude towards it was the best. He belongs to those few exile politicians who in the last ten years systematically carried out political activities in favor of the Hungarian people. Above all, he evaluated the possibilities for trends of ~~political~~ of Hungarian politics and reached the people who were busy working with these matters. I continue thinking very highly of him."

Tibor Eckhardt: "While I was in Hungary, I thought that Tibor Eckhardt was a very talented man, but in political matters quite unscrupulous and a politician who is interested in his own career more than in anything else. He is a real politico. It was way back in the thirties that his irresponsible, political tricks ruined the politics based upon peasantry. My critical opinion of him was only strengthened in these months of exile. I have found no reason to change this critical attitude towards him."

Paul Auer: "I knew of him in Hungary and that he was conducting very efficient and conscientious exile work in Paris, particularly as

a member of the International Assn. of Jurists. In my experiences in exile, I continue thinking very highly of him. I think he does an excellent job."

~~RFE~~ Jana Kovacs: "When he went into exile, I expected much of him in his capacity as a writer and in his capacity as a politician. Unfortunately I heard very little of him. I read articles written against him in Szabad Nep, the official communist newspaper. In RFE I learned about his book and about his activities in the Peasant ASSN. ~~My~~ Regardless of how little I heard of him I expected much of him because of my past experiences with him. Here in exile I am still thinking that he is one of those who have the best understanding of the social changes at home. He is very talented and has a concept. Unfortunately in his human attitude, he indulges in self-admiration and has become somewhat haughty."

Szabolcs  
~~Imre Szilard~~ "While I was in Hungary I heard that he was one of the announcers of the Hungarian program of the BBC. Since I used to know him in 1945 and '46 as an uncompromising Communist -socialist I thought highly of him. Here in exile I learned that he still remained an honest politician but saw unhappily that he is too stubborn and dogmatic in his attitude."

Charles Peyer: "He was an honest Social-democratic politician whose horizon was not very wide but whose attitude was beyond reproach."

Vassilo Taubinger: "Back in Hungary I never knew anything of him. Here in exile I learned and in part personally experienced, that he distributed the good graces of the Hungarian National Council on the basis of personal sympathies and saw and learned that his sympathies went to the members of the former aristocracy and to other members of the upper ten thousand of the former era."

Miklos Kiraly: "He was one of the few of the former regime in whose activities I found things I could truly appreciate. His 1943 politics were aimed at more social reforms - at sabotaging the anti-Jewish laws that had been pressed upon Hungary and his fine policies were aimed at surrendering to the Western Allies and sabotaging the strivings of Nazi-Germany. It was in part due to his attitude that our Resistance Movement got under way without great difficulties while he was in power."

Here in exile I have not met him yet, but I have learned from friends that he belongs to the realistically thinking persons who realize that their former role was part of history and that they should not try to turn the clock back in any way. I think he regrets these developments, but he is realistic enough to hide his regrets."

Zoldan Pfeiffer: "While I was back in Hungary and he was in exile, I was afraid that his smart, witty and ingenuous personality which is completely incapable of any systematic work, and has in fact a disintegrating effect, won't do much good. When I became an exile myself, I have unfortunately learned that this man's conduct is immoral beyond any measure in his political activities. It seems that he has become an entirely irresponsible person who is politiking and who wants to make a living from that and everything else is secondary in his attitude."

Istvan Barankovics.....: "While I was in Hungary, I thought that this man was an ideologically excellently trained politician who, however, lacked organizing and leadership qualities; still, I expected much of him. When I came to America myself, I still kept expecting much of him but was gravely disappointed because his ideological training seems to have become an ivory tower for him, and he seems to be dedicated to self-admiration and self-admiration. He personally is hardly approachable because he is so haughty."

Monsignor Joseph..Kosir-Horvath:... "In Hungary, I knew nothing else but his name. I know very little more of him now. "is Party - the Christian Democratic Party - is behaving very well and has the right attitude."

Bela Fabians: "While I was in Hungary, I wondered how this man became a name and how he played any important role because I remembered him as a completely insignificant Member of Parliament of the former regime. Here in exile, I have learned that few people hurt Hungarian interests more by irresponsible press announcements during the revolution as he is quoted as of saying: "We created the revolution". Hardly anything could hurt Hungarian interests more than such a prevarification."

General Zsako : "It was in the Hungarian Communist Party newspaper that I first read his name. They attacked him because of his exile activities. This was back in 1953 or 1954, I learned that he was the leader of the MHBK. The Communist Party newspaper alleged that he was heading a spy agency in ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>Vienna</sup>. When I came to exile myself, I learned in Vienna that General Zsako had been in Guior and that he offered his help to the freedom fighters. Allegedly the freedom fighters of Guior however answered to him "We have got rid of the Russians; we will find it even easier to get rid of you." That's all I know of him. Unfortunately I haven't met him personally."

General Ferenc Farkas De Kisbarnak : "While I was in Hungary, I preserved in my memories the picture of the Hungarian Chief Scout who in his attitude was considered a member of the right wing, however, extreme right. In fact, he was known as a good personal friend of the democratic Premier Teleky and he was known as one sympathizing with the movements that fought for democracy such as the Peasant Mass Assn. and the Student Unity Movement, or the Peace Catholic Agrarian Youth Organization, or the Christian Worker Movement. In other words, he as a general was on the left wing of the Hungarian generals and I hoped that in exile he remained what he had been before and that he was still under the effect of his personal friendship with Teleky. After all, he had issued an order to resist the German invasion and it was he who was slated to become Minister President ~~xxxx~~ <sup>before</sup> the second German invasion of Oct. 1944 ruined the remainders of Hungarian independence. Here in exile, I haven't met him personally but I heard from friends that he went too far to the right in his attitude and cooperated with politicians who can be called anything but democratic. I also heard that he has been cooperating with a Ukrainian-led-anti-Bolshevist National Organization which was both praised to me and also criticized. I can't understand the General,

if things which I heard of his activities with Hungarian politicians are true, and I am afraid they are."

Otto of Hapsburg: "While I was in Hungary, I heard very little of him and I didn't care much, as we already termed the problem of the Hapsburgs at our Hodmesovasarkely conference of the "Resistance Movement" the mere idea of a Hapsburg restoration is an historical anachronism". Here, in exile I heard of Otto that he had a nice personality and that he was quite normal as a individual. I also heard that he was teaching Hungarian to his children. As a matter of course, I still think the same of the idea of making him a Hungarian King as I thought while I was in Hungary."

Admiral Horthy: "I don't quite identify Hungary with the years of his regime - with the atmosphere that ruled in Hungary during his regime. Horthy was half a symbol and half a puppet of that era. He was told by then to learn of democracy because his entire upbringing was in the atmosphere of the Vienna rule of the absolutistic Hapsburg Monarch Frances Joseph. It was most unfortunate for Hungary that no democracy was established but it was more the fault of the upper ten thousand than of this one person. While he was in exile, I thought of him as of a person completely out of date."

C. Redefectors: "I have met no redefectors in Hungary. I have only heard of such.

"The Communists were anxious to move all exiles back to Hungary big or small. The Bolshevik revolution was fomented by exiles and they feared a similar development against their regime and this is why they are anxious to see all exiles returning."

D. Exile Tasks:

"People in Hungary would like to know of the exiles - aside from their own ties of relationship and friendship - what they are doing in the interests of those who remain in Hungary. What campaigns they are conducting ; what moves they make and what the effects of their attempts are.

"They should know what is going on outside of Hungary, and in this respect only the radio is at their disposal..A radio which truthfully and realistically tells them about events going on in Hungary as well as outside of Hungary would be of a tremendous importance and significance."

Speaking of what the exiles should do now, respondent says:  
"First of all, they should seek ways to secure their own livelihood to find jobs in which they can perform the good work and receive honest compensation for that. They ought to preserve their political views which they form by themselves at home in Hungary. They should preserve the ideals for which they fought or worked during the revolution. They should try to imbue old exiles with the ideals and ideas of the revolution. They ought to perform active vivacious work, not only in their own interests but also in the interests of the Hungarian developments. They ought to find as many friends for the cause of Hungary as possible - people whom they help to see the truth about Hungary. The more people they help to learn the truth about Hungary and Bolshevism, the more chance we have in free ~~democr~~ countries in which democracy is the reality that the leaders of those countries realize the overall importance of seeing the countries like Hungary liberated from Communist oppression."

"In my view, the meeting and conciliation of old Hungarian exiles and new Hungarian exiles can come about only on the basis of the ideals and aspirations of the Hungarian Revolution because only this can bring about such a wholesome .....work which can fulfill its tremendous tasks which we will face in the future."

Speaking of various Hungarian political parties, respondent said: "Political parties active before 1948 were quite different from one another. The Small Holder's Party was a pool of forces opposed to Communism. Fifty-seven percent of the votes that it won at the elections clearly showed that the majority of the Hungarian people were behind it - particularly the masses of peasantry and of small bourgeoisie who viewed Communist-Bolshevism with the greatest of misgivings. The backing of the Small Holder's Party was heterogeneous with a solid bloc with only the peasantry but actually constituted the majority of the Party... the Peasant Party was created by Communist techniques but there was also some necessity for its creation. The tactics of the Communist Party were directed at organizing those small peasants - mainly agricultural workers who did not feel well in the Smallholder's Party because of the stratifications existing within peasantry, but who were quite reluctant to join the Communist Party, at organizing those into the Peasant Party. The Communists hoped to exert their influence through the leaders of the Peasant Party. The radicalism of the Peasant Party and its identifying itself with the writers representing the aspirations of the broadest masses of the people cannot be doubted, but the undermining activities of those of its leaders who were supported by the Communist Party, and I am referring here to Erdei and Darvas, and the unsettled issues of ideology within the Party leadership actually pulled the rug from under the Party. Finally, it fell asunder... the Social-Democratic Party ~~was in a very similar~~ was in a very similar, I should say identical situation with that of the Peasant Party I just outlined. The elements in their leadership which were called "Right wing Socialists" by the Communists were not able to preserve the freedom and independence of their Party - only as long as the non-Marxist Parties were able to preserve their independence and were not liquidated by Communist trickery and force. The other opposition Parties - ~~the~~ the Sulyok and the Pfeiffer Party and the Barankovics Party and the Balogh Party were called into existence by the fact that mainly Communist techniques directed at silencing and inactivating the most courageous fighting elements of the Smallholder's Party and dividing their opposition, managed to make the ~~remaining~~ remainder of the Smallholder's Party a coalition Party. The Communists were happy to see the large bloc of the Smallholder's Party fall into pieces of small splinter parties."

"The revolution remembered only the 1945 parties - namely, the Smallholder's Party, the Peasant Party and the Social-Democratic Party. The 1947 parties were considered by the revolution as nothing else but segments torn from the Smallholder's Party. The revolution demanded the free development of political life and hence the freedom of political activities of the parties. At the same time, however, after the victory of the revolution, public sentiment turned against activities of political parties because of the <sup>imminent</sup> deadly danger of Soviet attack. Public sentiment was against wasting energies in party bickerings and they wanted to see the national unity that was formed during the fight of the revolution, turn with all its vehemence against the Soviet occupation and wanted to see political parties becoming active only after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops is achieved."

Asked about groups that went into exile previously, respondent says: "During the revolution, political groups that emigrated previously were not permitted and should not have been permitted to return to Hungary. They ought to have done everything here abroad to influence the free world to expend its support to the struggling Hungarian people. Only after they had performed this great task, and only after developments have solidified the free and independent structure of Hungary, ought they have returned to Hungary, but: they could have done much more for the independence of the country here and abroad."

E. Plans for the future:

"I want to go back to Hungary as soon as the country will be in a position to permit human freedoms as secure, once more. I want my children to learn Hungarian as well as English in the USA and I want them to remain Hungarians."



41-M  
HLR

XIX / 142  
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## AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

### A. Radio:

"I listened to foreign radio stations quite regularly and to various extents to the various stations. At the end of 1949, when I was discharged from prison, I listened during the first few nights every night, and then later, because I was so busy in very hard menial work, I learned from members of my family what they had heard. Periodically, I listened to certain programs - to certain shows and features - I listened most to RFE but I also listened to the French radio and to the BBC and to VOA. I listened only as a specialty to a broadcast coming from Spain and from Turkey and from ~~Maria~~ Yugoslavia every once in a long while. The VOA and BBC were the easiest so far as reception was concerned, and the best; at certain periods, also RFE.

"The stations were jammed according to the phases of technical advancement. Sometimes to a greater, and sometimes to a lesser degree. Some features which they thought particularly essential were more jammed than others.

"It was seldom that I listened to German language broadcasts -- mostly, only to Hungarian.

"I told others what I heard and in fact told all people whom I trusted. Others also told me and this was a general phenomena in Hungary.

"My own radio wasn't fit for listening. The sets of my father-in-law and of my brother-in-law were much more powerful and we usually listened to the news together with them, and sometimes even together with other friends.

"Until 1953, we were very cautious to listening to foreign broadcasts. We did everything in secret and turned the radio down so as to not to be heard beyond our walls, etc. Although everybody in the country was aware that large-scale listening was going on. After the regime of I're Nagy we were no longer so careful when we listened to the radio. Terror came back with Rakosi's return, but still we were not so anxious to dim the voice and to shut the doors as we were before."

41-M  
HLR

XII / 143  
~~XXXXX~~

Asked about risks, respondent says:

"Of course there were risks involved. There were sinister informants and the AVO made spot checks and if one was caught listening to the foreign broadcasts, he was sentenced to terms in jail. If a person was accused of political crimes, one of the points was quite often that he had listened to foreign radio broadcasts. Such sentences were published in the press, too. Communism was following its nature against free communication, period.

"Many people were deterred from listening. They were intimidated, but the degree of intimidation was largely dependent upon circumstances, just as one had neighbors who ~~xxx~~ were likely to inform on him, he was much more cautious, and the same refers even more to guests or visitors.

"As I said before, the most dangerous period was up to 1953. Afterwards the fear did not return in such a measure as it had ruled over the minds of people before 1953."

Speaking of various radio stations, respondent says:

"A full program was given only by the RFE. But there was much criticism ~~of~~ against various aspects and parts of its program. Part of the news were proven false. ~~xxxx~~ They were often annoyed if they listened to broadcasts which depicted the situation of the people at home in emotionally overcharged tone. We thought that such broadcasts should be directed toward foreign listeners in foreign languages, because not even the emotionally overcharged broadcasts were able to depict reality in as stark colors as would have been commensurate with the actual situation. People living in realities do not to be told about how bad those are. The musical program of RFE was good for nothing, but its cultural program I thought was pretty good.

"The criticism, a strong criticism, concerning the newscasts of RFE came about actually only after the revolution. The disillusionment caused by the attitude of the West was transferred by the people to RFE. People did not make the difference between RFE and the West in general. They considered RFE the organ of the West which clearly reflects the prevailing political views and attitudes in the West, but some criticism prevailed all the time because of ~~xxxx~~ reasons I just named here and above.

"Because of reason I mentioned, I usually prefer listening to the French radio or BBC - even before the revolution. I considered them more

"I considered them more objective and realistic.

"The cultural programs enjoyed great popularity in Hungary and I belong to those who liked them. I, and other, enjoyed that windows were open through which we were able to peek into what was going on in the West."

Asked now about the Radio Free Europe in particular, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ in regard to the revolution, respondent says:

"Radio Free Europe undoubtedly played a part in motivating the Hungarian Revolution but they did not basically effect it. The revolution was not directed by RFE. It only supplied information to people. The revolution itself was driven by its own dynamics. Its ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ flame was fanned by historical development and its own nature was the most responsible for driving it forward to what happened. In this the RFE had only an inessential, negligible role."

Asked whether RFE should continue to broadcast, respondent says:

"By all means it should. It should give a full program featuring new people and adding new voices and aspects to its broadcast. In its newscast it should strive anxiously and meticulously to achieve objectivity. Persons who are thoroughly acquainted with the situation in Hungary and with the way the Hungarian people think, who can extend comfort to the people, who are destitute and bitter, should be foremost among those who speak to the Hungarian people and who form the policies of how and when and who should be featured. Programs about Western Europe and life in the United States should continue on a realistic basis, telling particularly much about the life ~~xxx~~ of the refugees."

B. RFE press leaflets:

"I heard about leaflets that were flown into Hungary and my hopes as well as the hopes of others were strengthened by them. This is to say by the mere fact that the West went to this trouble as well as to talk to the Hungarian people.

"I received several of these leaflets myself and in fact I picked one up myself when I was working on the shores of Lake Balaton.

41-M  
HLR

XIX/ 145

"I only heard of the initials N.S.M. but I didn't see any leaflet referring to them.

"I heard of the Twelve Demands. I knew that the Twelve Demands were on one of the leaflets but I never managed to get one of those into my hands.

#### C. More about leaflets:

"In fact, I recall having seen five different RFE leaflets, one which I picked up myself and other which were passed to me and had been found by others. They might have gone through many hands until they reached me. I passed all of them to friends. ~~Nothing was done~~ All of my friends passed the leaflets they received along one way or another, but they ~~usually~~ handed them over to only very reliable persons because the spreading of such leaflets was connected with great ~~in~~ risks. Interment was the smallest price one could pay for ~~spreading these~~ distributing leaflets. Particularly before 1953 trumped up charges, invented conspiracies could result from once having to do anything with leaflets.

"I thought that the leaflets were useful because they contained information that was appreciated by people. The mere fact that such were sent to Hungary was one sheer proof positive that the West did not write us off, and that it was anxious to see us regain our freedom and we hoped that the time would actually come when Hungary could be liberated.

"Leaflet campaigns of the future should be determined by the world political situation, and also the circumstance of how well radio broadcasts can be relayed into Hungary. Of course, the most important aspect to consider that no exaggerated hopes may be created in people's minds behind the iron curtain. At the same time, one should anxiously watch that hope not be lost because hope is the most important factor in making one's mere existence a possibility. People have the feeling that they can endure under the unbearable stresses and strains because there will come the day of liberation."

#### D. Goals of Western Groups:

"I think that Western Groups had information as their main goal when they relayed Hungarian language broadcasts and sent leaflets into Hungary. The goal of extending information to the Hungarian people was to keep their hopes alive and to strengthen resistance, and to frustrate the the forward thrust of Communism.

41-M  
HLR

XIX / 147

"I think that all Western organizations had the same aim and the persons featured in radio programs and in writing in leaflets were influenced by their personal political and otherwise convictions, how to formulate whatever they wrote or said."

#### CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

"As a pedagogian, of course, I have my strong convictions about how children should be reared. The full mental, emotional and spiritual and physical development of the child should be the aim of child-rearing. The most important factor is the effect of personalities. The help provided to children to develop their personalities, to be able to master the realities of life as well as face them. The development of human personality that finds its place in human society without dissolving itself in society but becomes capable and interested ~~with~~ working with others and for the common good of all as well as for the good of his own and his family. This should be the main goal of child-rearing from the earliest childhood. Moral and intellectual values inherent in human personality should be helped to develop freely. Should both become as full a personality and as happy an individual as possible and at the same time become as useful a member of human society as possible.

Child rearing in the family as well as in nursery schools and kindergartens should be the same."

Asked about how children should be disciplined, respondent says:  
basic

"The ~~basic~~ principle in disciplining a child should be the effect of the personality and the effect of full life - that is to say - an atmosphere created by the family or in kindergarten or school. Teaching the right thing and reasoning with the child including serious persuasion should be a second- but in critical situations - punishments cannot be completely avoided, not even physical punishment if necessary in early childhood. But punishment may not be considered a method - only a recourse in ultimately extreme cases. The maturity and efficiency of the educator decides when and how punishments should be applied and as sparingly as humanly possible."/>

"As I already mentioned, I think physical punishment is unavoidable only in the earliest years, and as the child grows older it can be reasoned with more and more and particularly the example of the parents and older brothers and sisters and the atmosphere of the family will do that part, and will exclude the necessity of punishments more and more, and at the earliest possible moment, physical punishment should be abandoned. The same refers to other mental type of punishment but probably they cannot be abandoned as soon as physical punishment.

"I think that everything I said in general refers even more to girls."

Asked for a complete example when respondent himself was disciplined, he answers:

"I was disciplined ~~ix~~ when I was a child and received even physical punishment but at very rare occasions but remembering the reasons and the consequences were enough, I say that those were necessary and timely. Those cases of punishment by my father were never too severe and after I became ten years old, it happened only once or twice that I received a slap in the face from my father. After I became fourteen, I never received any punishment of any sort. Mainly, by personal experiences, persuasion etc. also a slap in the face in critically serious circumstances a slap in the face can go a long ways. In fact, such an ultimate means I include also the factor of humiliation, of putting one to shame, which is a tremendously serious factor and under serious circumstances not negligible. The one concrete case of punishment respondent tells us the following story:

"A typical case was the following: I was in the first grade of elementary school. I heard often from my parents about various parts of our area in which I had never been. One of those was a certain farm about three miles from our village. The name of that farm and the fact that I heard often about it, and mainly the fact that it was out beyond the confines of the area which I knew out of personal experience at that stage of my development, somehow conveyed the notion that it was something particularly interesting. In fact, it had the appearance in my imagination of really something like wonderland. Thus, when one day my father told us that he was going to that farm, I asked him to take me with him, and he promised to do so. That was to take place next day after school was out. All day and next day in school I prepared for that "journey" and my desperation and grief was great when I arrived at home and found that father had been compelled by circumstances to leave earlier than he had planned and that as a consequence, I had been left home. I was so bitter and angry over this fact that I told my mother that I would follow him. Since I was a tiny tot, nobody took this seriously enough and they didn't watch me when I actually left. I crossed through fields and walked on dirt roads, unwinding roads indeed, and it was well over two miles that I was found by an old peasant who knew me as I was seeking the right direction among the vineyards and fields and hills, among which I was seeking the road.

"He asked me why I was on my own and I told him my story and learned from him that he saw already returning from that farm. There was nothing left for me to do but to return. When I arrived at home, I found my parents desperate about my disappearance and father took a switch and he gave me a spanking with the admonishment that I should never leave home without the permission of my folks."

Asked about the practices among his acquaintances, respondent says:

"All of my acquaintances used corporeal punishment very sparingly and with mature judgment in the case of children older than six years. I am not so sure but perhaps it was the father who punished children more, but I think it usually depended upon who was present at the time when the misdemeanor was committed. If both were present it depended largely on who of the two was the more quick-tempered. Trying to think of differences in social classes, I don't see any more difference but the fact that the more financial problems people have, the more nervous they are and more apt to lose their tempers."

Asked about the age of children when punishments were abandoned, respondent said:

"Physical punishment in the wide circle of my acquaintances was usually abandoned in the case of boys between 10, 12, 14 and among girls at the age of 8, 10, 12 years."

"Speaking of differences in social classes, I can refer only to my statement made earlier."

Asked about changes Communism brought about, respondent says:

"I have no systematic observations, but I am under the impression that Communism made parents more tense quite generally speaking, and that they were inclined to lose their temper and to punish children all the more since Communism taught children to be worse than when they were children. At the same time, I am under the impression that the age limit at which punishment was abandoned was pushed down. Children grew mature earlier and there was another factor contributing to pushing down the age level when punishments were abandoned and this was the fact that parents themselves grew more mature than parents were



before and respected more human personality than in previous decades as the process of democracy - grew by itself - a process which our generation had really started during our student years in 1940's, and in the later half of the '30s. "

Speaking of how children were disciplined in the first eight years in school prior to Communism physical punishment was part of disciplining children but it was judiciously used by most educators - censoring admonishments and threats were the most usual ways of punishing children and such as putting them to shame by making them stand in the corner, or kneel in the corner, or go out of the classroom or just stand where they were sitting. But, no doubt there were also physical punishment like hitting one's palms with a switch or spanking him. Physical punishments were abolished during Communism and even before Communism in the first two years of democracy. But I must mention that discipline in schools worsened a great deal under Communism and most responsible educators ~~wish~~ wished in extreme cases they could use physical punishment. I even know of several cases in which teachers called in the children and this was done also by principles and locked up the room so as not to have witnesses, and gave children who really, truly misbehaved and were utterly fresh, they gave them a thorough spanking, and they claimed that such treatment improved the situation."

Asked about characteristics respondent approves most in a friend, he says:

"Characteristics which really make a friend are the following: faithfulness in friendship under all circumstances. Even in cases where this means a major sacrifice; sincerity and thankfulness and frankness -- sincerity and frankness in the most serious sense of the word in a concept considers the friend's life part of our serious responsibility, and the feeling of responsibility must prompt a friend to seek ways of ~~assist~~ how to improve the personality and the circumstances of a friend by good counsel. This, all the more since I think that the truer a friendship is, the more one identifies himself with the friend and his needs. The common person does not have a chance for such a full identification of oneself with a friend, only Jesus Christ was completely capable of doing this, and others only to the extent that they follow Christ's example, whether consciously or unknowingly. The basis of true friendship is to be found in the harmony of maturity. Maturity which does not seek harmony in conformity but rather in <sup>supplementing</sup> ~~adding~~ oneself to the other and receiving the ~~addition~~ <sup>supplement</sup> of the other to himself."

41-M  
HLR

XX / 152

Asked about changes of friendship under Communism, respondent says:

"Communism made the struggle for livelihood murderous. These were really tempting times under the oppression of communism, true friendships became even truer, but the number of true friendships was prevented from developing and was diminished, and they were unable to develop into profound connections between human beings. Friendships were exposed to the greatest danger. They were certainly under great stress when one of the friends was politically tried and sentenced to heavy terms in jail, let alone to death. In such cases, friendship was tried in the great court of life because keeping up a friendship meant both taking a political stand and in revealing one's innermost human character."