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## SPECIAL SECTION: INTERVIEWER'S IMPRESSIONS OF SUBJECT

As the face sheet and the interview proper indicate, the respondent's social background is distinctively high-class, his-education upper class, his education extensive and his professional career of an extremely substantial nature. The man's career is actually very heavy on diplomatic experience, and he continues to take himself most seriously as a professional diplomat couching much of his language in statesmen's lingo and trying, always, to be "diplomatic" on issues he deems controversial. As a result, much of the material in this interview appears to make out the respondent as an extremely evasive man. The interviewer found it quite difficult to determine the ex full extent of his evasiveness - he found it difficult to say when the man was playing a "sincere" and passionate role and when he was being artful.

This dilemma arose with some poignancy in the questioning about the respondent's activity during the rebellion. He "acknowledged," with some very slight embarrassment, that he had not participated in any of the actual fighting and made a real point of saying, on a number of different occasions, that he was unable to fight as he had a duty to make the rounds of all Budapest so as to observe developments. The respondent's role during the rebellion and his description of it pose questions similar to those raised by his account of his decision to leave Hungary. He asserts that he never wanted to leave, but that he was told by various political leaders in Hungary that he "had a duty" to embark for the free world and to "tell the Hungarian story",

The respondent's extreme ambivalence is also evident in his attitudes toward class and class-consciousness. On the one hand, he resisted, consistently, all questioning which sought to probe for class differences in Hungary, responding always that Communism hit all the social groups in Hungary with equal force, that all responded similarly with equal intensity, and that if Communism has yielded the Hungarian people any profit, it is that class barriers and antagonisms have been obliterated as a result of the people's need to oppose the regime in unity.

On the other hand, the respondent has a great deal of obvious pride in his own social origins and still clings, perhaps a little desparately, to the elegance in which he grew up and, to some extent, was ev-- able to maintain even during the Communist years. Whether this amounts to

class snobbery is, of course, very difficult to say.

One final observation: the respondent is an extraordinarily egocentric man. Especially where his attitudes toward political developments and phenomena were sought, he frequently put his answers in terms of personal experience, noting, for instance, that he had high contacts who supplied him with "inside" information on political affairs and pointing out a little pompously, that he had access to materials not available to the general public. It should be noted, however, that this was probably not sham. The respondent was an extremely well informed man in Hungary, having regular access to most Western publications, including the New York Times, Manchester Guardian, etc. Thus, while his self-picture may be one of exaggerated esteem, the respondent's own reportage should not be discounted on that account alone.

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## II.

A. Under this heading, the respondent was less concerned with the substance of the message to be carried to the American people than he was with the presentation of it. As things stand, the respondent says, Americans have become "fed up" with news about Hungary, Americans already have a basic knowledge of the rebellion, even tho they don't know the real motives behind it. Because they have no feeling for the rebellion, Americans are "even bored" with the newspaper stories. They feel that "those Hungarians are making too much trouble." The respondent feels that the Hungarian story should be presented in dramatic form. He suggests that a film he made of the events in Hungary. He said that a novel of the rebellion would help Americans to understand the Hungarian people and the motives behind their actions. He feels that "the history of the rebellion should be sublimated in something like a novel." One possibility in writing up the rebellion, the respondent said, would be to write a book or screen play involving several fictional Hungarian characters who would be composites of real people. The respondent plans to write and will attempt to publish such a book during the next three to four months. He repeatedly stresses the importance of reaching the man in the street in the free world.

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III. A. Before Oct. 23, the respondent said he was "anticipating some kind of action. I was one of the few who felt the reverberations in the air."

On Oct. 19, respondent says he met with a group of lawyers, 17 lawyers. The respondent made a "foreign affairs" report to the group and asserted that some kind of upheaval was about to occur in Hungary. He reports that he said, "I don't want any bloody uprising, but a revolution will come." Respondent then said somewhat critically, "only two out of seventeen believed me."

"At midnight on the 22, I returned home and told my mother, "Now, I expect a revolution." The respondent said that he based this statement on two things - the voting of the 16 points by the Budapest students and on a personal contact. The respondent's description of that contact is rather typical. Here, he counted, rather elaborately, how he had a friend in one of the ministries with direct wires to the other ministries and how this friend, like many others, was frequently able to give him "inside" information.

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On the afternoon of Oct. 23, as on the afternoon of the 22, the respondent continued his Arabic lessons in Budapest university. However, on the evening of Oct. 23, the respondent says that he made an extensive survey trip of all of Budapest, by train, by subway and on foot, in order to assess the situation in Budapest.

On the 23, his Arabic professor asked him for a resume of developments in the city. The professor, aged 70, thereupon went out into the streets to join the demonstrations. He even fought with a young man who, allegedly, said that Russia had not been exploiting Hungary. During the early evening of the 23, the respondent continued in his self appointed role of objective observer. The respondent visited a friend who lived in the same house with a Comrade Antos. He was most evasive when asked what kind of information from his friend. When pressed, the respondent balked at giving any factual data passed on to him by his contacts.

At 8:34 P.M., on Oct. 23, the respondent heard first, a shot and then a series of shots. He ran down to the Marguerite Bridge and then went near the radio station. In front of the station, the respondent saw fighting which he watched from the fifth floor of a near-by building.

The respondent had expected demonstrations from Oct. 22 on. He knew of the demonstrations from 10:00 A.M. on the 23rd. When asked these details, the respondent, once again mentioned that he had numerous contacts, all of whom had a series of telephone numbers at which he, the respondent, could be reached, and that these contacts made a point of keeping him informed.

When asked about his own participation, in the demonstrations and the fighting, the respondent said that he had to run through all of the city for information, that he never had the time nor the opportunity to demonstrate, that it was more important to get information.

When asked about his state of mind during those first days, the respondent replied, "I'm always in the same mood. A person who is expecting this kind of thing has an obligation to remain objective. However, I did, from the 23 on, feel free to address and converse with anyone on the street - unlike

formerly." The interviewer found it difficult to determine what

The interviewer found it consistently difficult to determine the respondent's personal political views on particular issues as the respondent much preferred to dwell on non-personal issues and on the views and attitudes of the Hungarian people at large. When asked what concessions would have satisfied him, on the one hand, and the people, on the other, at the outbreak of the demonstrations, he said, "None!" The people couldn't be quieted, they were, "like Vesuvius once it erupts. The only solution would have been a completely changed form of government. There was, in fact, no solution." After much prodding from the interviewer, the respondent said that he himself would have been satisfied with no concessions. When asked what he thought would be the outcome of the demonstrations, at the time of the demonstrations, the respondent said, "I realized then that there were only two possibilities - the government could ask for Russian support or it would be crushed by the people." The respondent would not commit himself on which of those two he thought would happen.

When asked about coordination and leadership on Oct. 22 and 23, respondent said that there was a "tremendous instinctive" integration. There was much telephoning and meeting and people constantly met trying to reach decisions on when to start work in offices, ministries, and factories. There were, however, respondent said, no real leaders, "everyone was a leader".

When asked about the composition of the marching forces, during the demonstrations, respondent made a point of saying that one reason for the high proportion of young people was that it was the young people who, previously, had been forced to march on the Communist holidays and that, on this occasion, they were marching because it was the first time they could do so of their own volition. Respondent estimates that 20% of the marchers were under 15, 20% were over 40, and 60% were between 15 and 40. He also estimates that 60% were male and 40% female. Respondent says that all social groups were heavily represented. It should be added at this point that throughout the interview, the respondent was extremely reluctant to identify himself as sympathizing with or promoting the interests of any particular social group in Hungary.

Time after time, when asked about ~~class/differences~~ differences in class feeling or attitude, respondent would reply that all groups felt the same and that one of the primary effects of Communism in Hungary was to obliterate class differences, to unite all Hungarians in opposition to the regime.

When asked again about organization and integration on Oct. 22 and 23, respondent repeated that there were no leaders, "just heroes who usually had the biggest voices". He said that, in many instances, regular organization secretaries would call meetings and that as soon as the meetings convened, all would start to scream and demand action.

B. Respondent says that there was no way that the demonstrations could have been prevented from turning into fighting.

He could not give me any concrete information as to when he had first heard the various revolutionary slogans. The term "freedom fighter" is, according to the respondent, a product of the foreign press.

When asked who fought, respondent said he had seen all groups from age 8 to 55 fighting. Respondent estimates that 30% of those who fought were under 15, 20% were over 40 and 50% were between 15 and 40. He estimates that 60% of those who fought were men and 40% were female. Respondent emphasizes that the women included in his 40% spent much of their time supplying food and ammunition, but that these women were also armed. Respondent once again emphasized that all social groups participated in the fighting and that there were no class distinctions. On the 23, respondent says, freedom fighters in Budapest took arms from an army truck in Calvin Square. Later, insurgent forces both received and seized arms from army groups, from the AVH and from civil police.

Once again, respondent emphasized there were no leaders, especially not during the first two days. One man in a mob would yell a direction and the rest would move.

Respondent did not fight, himself. He wanted to fight, but at various meetings which he attended, especially meetings of former small holder party leaders, he was told that he was too intelligent and too important to carry arms. "If you die," he was told, "what will happen to the rest of the Hungarians?" He was told that he had to leave Hungary to build up contacts for all Hungarians in Hungary with the outside world.

When asked about his own expectations with respect to Soviet action in the immediate future at the time of the initial Soviet withdrawal, respondent said he was absolutely convinced that the Russians would return and that he told every one else as much. Respondent is absolutely certain that it was not Nagy who was responsible for the calling in of Soviet troops. He refused to say who he thought was responsible.

C. Respondent states that he spent the time between the Soviet withdrawal and the re-invasion attempting to vitalize the Nagy Foreign Ministry. On Oct. 30, he went to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and demanded the immediate recall of all Hungarian representatives abroad. He also asked for his personal reinstatement in the Foreign Ministry. "I had no authorization to press for the recall of our representatives abroad, but I tried to impress the ministry officials anyway."

The revolutionary committee, respondent says, purported to be "delighted" to take the respondent on as the small holder representative for foreign affairs. However, the committee is alleged to have said, that they require time for consideration. Respondent reports that he replied this was no time for consideration, but for action. They in turn, replied, they required documentation that he, the respondent, was, in fact, the official representative of the small holder party. In spite of much probing, by the interviewer, much of this activity by the respondent prior to the Soviet re-invasion, remained unclear, e.g., the exact nature and status of the revolutionary committee, referred to by the respondent, remains in question, as does the relationship of the respondent finally achieved with the committee.

What is clear is that the respondent had some credentials describing him as in charge of foreign affairs for the small holder party. With these credentials, respondent attended "all meetings of the revolutionary councils". It was at one of these meetings that, respondent says, he helped to initiate the campaign to recall Imre Hovarth and Andre Sik from their representation at the UN. During this period, Hovarth and Sik had been en route to the General Assembly.

When questioned about his views at that time with respect to the Soviet withdrawal, respondent stated that he was convinced, at that time, that the withdrawal was nothing more than a tactical maneuver. That, furthermore, he knew that Soviet troops never left Hungary, but merely circulated within the country so as to create the impression of a withdrawal.



Respondent says he obtained this information from a group of informants who made a point of remaining in contact with him. Many of these were motorcycle riders who traveled throughout the entire country gathering information from the provinces.

The respondent states that he first knew of the Soviet troops' return during the early morning of Nov. 4.

Respondent states that he spent the period between the Soviet re-invasion and his escape listening to broadcasts, attending meetings, (the last on Nov. 20) and passing on information. He also tried to contact the Small Holders' headquarters by phone, but failed.

When asked about his escape, respondent says that he had never envisaged escape. "I wanted to stay in the country that I knew I should be arrested." On Nov. 20, he was told, at a Small Holders meeting, that he was a diplomat and that he should tell the meeting what course of action they should take. He proposed the calling of UN observers into Hungary and says that the meeting, accordingly, deputized him to leave Hungary so that he might bring this about. ~~When asked about~~

When asked about the details of his escape, respondent stated that he had been planning an escape route for seven years.

The respondent states that he approached the Austrian frontier by train via Gyor and Sopron. Respondent states that he walked the last 24 kilometers to the frontier and that he made his way across with no difficulty as he knew that territory well. Frontier guards expected him and caused him no difficulty.

IV.

A. When questioned about his expectations as to action by the West, during the rebellion, respondent replied, "I was convinced the Western governments would be unable to grasp the meaning of the revolution". Respondent says that he, himself, expected no military support from the West and that the "man in the street" did not expect American military aid either. However, respondent did hope for strong moral sanctions against the Soviet Union and, he states that this hope was not fulfilled. He also says that he expected secret diplomatic negotiations between Washington and Moscow, such secret diplomatic treatment, he says, might have made for an overall, if only temporary, settlement in Eastern Europe. Finally, the respondent commented that the US and the UK should have stepped into the situation in Hungary as they had obligations to do so, in their roles of sponsors of peace treaties with Hungary.

When asked about his contacts with foreigners in Budapest during the rebellion, respondent replied that he stepped up his already active and numerous communications with various numbers of the foreign diplomatic corps in the city. Respondent refused to mention specific individuals and he says such mention might compromise Western officials still in Budapest.

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V.

A. Following is some material on respondent's background. His grand father, respondent says, was a Chancellor of Austria-Hungary and an aristocrat. Respondent refuses to give his name. Because of a disadvantageous marriage, respondent's family missed out on inheriting his grandfather's title.

Respondent's mother's family is described as a large landowner.

His father was employed in a factory as a technician working on turbines.

Respondent and his parents had no property. However they lived in a "wonderful, expensive" apartment which was, according to respondent, most elegantly furnished. "We preferred this to a large land-holding," respondent said. At this point, he took from his billfold two or three photographs showing him sitting behind a Louis XIV desk. He then told me the price of the paintings hanging on the walls behind the desk. This performance was repeated during our next interviewing session, respondent apparently having forgotten about the first showing.

Respondent's father went through technical high school. His mother also completed secondary schools, however, it was not clear whether this was Real Schule or gymnasium. Respondent's mother did a good deal of sewing at home to supplement the family's income.

B. Respondent lists the following groups as comprising social classes in Hungary: High Party officials, high state, that is governmental and military officials, enterprise managers, physicians, engineers, clerks, and finally, workers and peasants.

When asked about his contacts with the various classes, respondent replied that he had "excellent connections" with all except the very top leadership. Respondent says that he had contact at fairly high levels, both socially and through his work as an interpreter.

Asked about his own social ~~life~~ identification, respondent said, "I have tried to reach the soul of the people, I didn't differentiate socially. Almost everybody was my friend." When pressed as to what group he felt he belonged in, respondent said, "It's very mixed up."

When asked about the effect of Communism on the different social classes, respondent said that there was no difference in the effect. A peasant laboring under compulsory deliveries, he commented, is hit as hard as a former factory owner. ~~The/~~  
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When asked about the effect of Communism on social grouping in Hungary, respondent said that Communism has humanized the Hungarian people. Their trials, he said, have made them become aware that they are one people. In this fashion, he says, Communism has actually obliterated class lines.

It should be noted that the respondent, generally, disliked making class distinctions even in the abstract. ~~de/~~ in our three sessions of interviewing and that he made a great point of talking about the absence of class consciousness in Hungary today.

C. Another reason offered by the respondent for this described social integration is population movement, especially movement from the countryside to the city under the Communist industrialization programs. More than one half of the present population of Budapest, according to respondent, thus comes originally from the countryside. As a result, he says, the links between city and country are closer than ever. The social situation has been evened out.

E. When questioned about how individuals might best advance themselves in Communist Hungary during the past five to six years, respondent said that ~~de/~~ holding the "proper" political ideas has helped, but that this is not crucial. Talent, on the other hand, he said, when unaccompanied by political reliability did not suffice to gain a "honorable job". Class origin, respondent said, was also helpful, but again, not basic. The most important personal quality for professional advancement in Communist Hungary is "unscrupulousness - capacity to accept any kind of an idea, no back bone".

Respondent stated that there ~~is~~ was more social mobility, more opportunity to get ahead in Hungary from 1945 to 1953 than before 1945.

F. Party members, respondent said, are the social group in the Communist Hungarian society who get more out of their society than they deserve.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE

A. When asked about the effects of Communism on family life, respondent's immediate response was that it had "a demoralizing effect". He said this was especially true of the "propagation of free love" which "demoralized the men". In this connection, he noted that the MADISZ, which preceded the DISZ was for some time the subject of a popular slogan which went as follows: "If you want a grandson, send your daughter to the MADISZ."

Respondent also mentioned the dislocating effects of easy divorce laws during the first years of Communist rule. However, he says, divorce procedure was subsequently retightened and during recent years, the maintenance of a mistress, if one was found out, ~~could constitute grounds for expulsion from the CP.~~ This prohibition, however, was frequently flaunted. Thus, Gero, for instance, was widely known to have maintained a mistress and to have received a divorce.

Another dislocating effect of Communism was the economic necessity for both parents in many, if not most, families to work full time. This also hurt family life and brought about many divorces.

"But finally, family life was strengthened thru Communism. Cooperation on all social levels was necessary for opposition to the regime and the family proved to be the basic unit for this cooperation."

B. Respondent says that the greatest effect of Communism on children was in their formal education.

He noted that the 12 to 18 year old group suffered especially, because of the particular indoctrination programs leveled at it in school. This program had a built-in anti-Communist bias and it encouraged the children to indoctrinate the parents.

When asked about the relative obedience of children under Communism, respondent said that until 1953, disobedience was on the increase. After Nagy's education reform, however, teachers at the secondary school level, were given more disciplinary authority and the situation improved.

In general, under Communism, "children were not taught to honor God. They had nothing to be afraid of, they had not supreme power to honor and this encouraged them to disobey and even despise their parents." This situation was especially marked among workers' families because the less educated groups were less able to explain themselves to their children while the

more intellectual groups were better equipped to correct the regime's indoctrination work on the children.

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C. Speaking of court ship under Communism, the respondent said that, "Everyone was in a hurry and that this shortened courtship like it shortened everything else ----- I speak about physical acquaintance not about spiritual relations."

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Brothels had been closed in 1948 and that this "compelled young men to look for other places. However, no one had any money." According to respondent, the situation meant that otherwise healthy relationships became promiscuous - girls were pushed into illicit relations by impatient young men. Illegal prostitution declined as the living standard declined.

There was an increase in the number of illegitimate children and that this resulted from the Communist doctrine that all women had a duty to become mothers.

After, 1948, abortions in Hungary were punishable with up to ten years imprisonment for the doctor, for the woman and for the individual who arranged the operation. Contraceptives were available, but were of very poor quality.

Spending of the immorality of CP members, respondent noted that they had more free time and that they were, thus, "able to live life on a larger scale."

②I heard ridiculous stories about Rakosi involving a former duchess, subsequently a Communist, but I was unable to check on these. This woman subsequently became the Secretary General of the Hungarian Women's Democratic League. In 1947, the Party-wan CP had attempted to appoint this woman Councillor of Legation, but I prevented this for eight months, the respondent said. Later, this woman served in the Hungarian Legation in Washington.

D. When asked about friendship in Communist Hungary, respondent said that friendships and acquaintances grew up on entirely new bases. For instance, I became friends- friends with bribers and criminals, with all kinds of people with whom I never would have associated previously. In this connection, "I did my best to convince all around me that class differences must go and that I was not a snob. I made friends with many who were formerly considered a lower class, but on the other hand, with state officers, outstanding scientists, etc. When these people met each other in my home, they all used the same familiar tone with each other, making no distinctions. This would never have been the case if it hadn't been for Communism. In this sense, Communism has made for a classless

in Hungary." In response to the hypothetical friendship question, respondent said, "It's really funny, but it happened to me." A close friend of the respondent, originally a member of the Small Holders' Party joined the CP in 1947 for idealistic reasons. "At that time, our friendship hit its lowest point." The two remained friends and sometimes the respondent spoke "too openly" with his friend for his own good. He did this in order to re-convert his old acquaintance. "Our friendship was re-established in 1951 at the time of the Korean War when my friend left the Party. Our friendship was resumed fully and still is going strong." (According to respondent, his friend left the Party because he became disillusioned with Communism as the result of the Soviet-act-- Communist international action in 1951.)

In a friendship between a non-Communist and a Communist recently joined the Party, it is more likely to be the non-Communist who will break off the friendship.

It is impossible to keep politics out of personal relations.  
- "All are woven together," said respondent.

E. Discussing crime in Hungary during the past 16 to 17 years, respondent first said there was a decline in crime as everyone was kept busy supporting themselves. Although, of course, he noted, the number of small thefts also rose - also as a result of the declining living standard.

Speaking of alcoholism, the respondent said that it is true that there are more drunks seen on the streets since the advent of Communism than under previous regimes. However, he attributed this not to an increase of consumption of alcohol, but rather to much drinking on empty stomachs. Wine prices increased very little while food costs rose very high.

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VII. RELIGION

A. When asked about the effects of Communism on religious life in Hungary, respondent initially said that Communism had a "terrific" effect. Religious people were generally discriminated against. Frequently being scored with a Fascist label, all religious people were regarded as potential Fascists. Religious education was banned and church goers frequently reported to the Party organizations and to their places of work.

The respondent states that Roman Catholics were the religious group hardest hit by Communism. Other sects affected in the order of damages incurred were: most Protestant groups, Unitarians, Lutherans, Jews, and Reformists.

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B. When asked about the role religion played in his own life, he said, "I felt the finger of God several times." He says that once during a World War II air raid, he was in the bathroom of a ~~bank~~ building in Budapest and he prayed that the room would not be hit. As it turned out, respondent recounts, that room was the only one in the building not completely demolished. At this point, the respondent began commenting on his own on the role of Cardinal Josef Mindsenty. "Mindszenty," he says, "was the only one who expressed objectively and freely what was in his heart and on his lips. Yet, he's considered a dangerous man." These comments were delivered with a great deal of intensity. He also stated here that the Roman Catholic was the only church which has been fighting openly against Communism.

He states that religion has been as important in his own life as it has been in his ~~own~~ parents'.

When asked about his own religious practices, he said "that to act and to live as a Christian is far better than to go to church and make confessions every day." He states that he considers himself "more conscious" of religion than the average Hungarian.

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C. When asked about the role that the church should play in society, he said that there should be a formal relationship between church and state. He also said there should be compulsory religious education. Otherwise, children won't attend religious classes and will only come to regret this later on.



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Speaking of the role of the church in establishing moral codes in the arts, "even the worst should be shown to people. However, they should be made aware that it is the worst."

With reference to the role of the church in politics, he said "Yes, the churches certainly will play an active role. The church should act as an advisory or consulting body for enlightenment." He also noted, "Anybody has the right to participate in politics."

D. When asked whether the Jewish religion had also been hurt, respondent first noted that he had several, a large number of Jewish friends. He stated that the Jews had been persecuted as capitalists, immediately after 1947. Until 1947, Jews were favored by the Communists and Jews voted for the CP as a natural antidote to National Socialism. After nationalization of Hungary's major industries, however, Hungarian Jewry wavered about the CP. Furthermore, when the Communists turned on all religions, the Jews also became anti-Communists. Finally, respondent states, the Jews suffered actually of Zionism. He points out that the Zionists have been hard hit by the regime in the same for the same reasons that all who want to leave Hungary have been labelled as Fascists. Zionist activity has hurt all Jews in Hungary. He states that, "not many" Jews were Communists, especially after 1954. "I don't consider Gero, Rakosi, etc. as Jews, but as Communists."

On the role of Jews in the rebellion, respondent said they took an active part in the psychological preparation for the rebellion. "For instance, Tibor Tardes". He also says, "I saw several Jews participating actively in the demonstrations and the fighting."

When asked whether the Jewish community had any fears with respect to independent Hungary, he said, "Not at all. No fear of pogroms especially not the younger Jewish generation."

~~VIII. When asked who is considered~~

### VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

When asked who is considered a youth in Hungary, respondent said that there were two categories of youth. The first group which does not receive higher education would include persons up to age 18. The second group which consists of persons with university education, up to age 30.

When asked if he agrees with those who have held that it was the youth of Hungary that led the rebellion, respondent says "Actually we were all influenced by our elders. Furthermore, things never previously ~~ex~~-~~pected~~-experienced are more touching." The actions of the youth were more intense. "The youth gave the rebellion dynamism," and became the ~~reb~~ rebellion's moving force.

He states that the youth did not have an "outstanding" role in the preparatory stages of the rebellion (the summer months) - except for the eighteen to thirty age group. The respondent states that the youth played a bigger role in the demonstrations - "it was a school holiday, they enjoyed their liberty and took the opportunity to scream."

Respondent states that the youth carried the brunt of the fighting. He notes that young people were compelled to take military courses at school and that this aspect of Communist education worked against the regime in the rebellion.

He states that during the rebellion, the older people's attitude towards the youth was one of pride and the older people were - astonished by the youth's fervor and forceful action. The older people did not expect the youth to assert themselves after 12 years of indoctrination and mis-education.

The youth, in turn, had an almost, but not quite condescending attitude toward the older people - one of patting their elders on the backs fondly.

C. When asked about the effects of Communism on education in the secondary school and the university level, he said "first, these are the benefits." Respondent mentioned that more sports facilities were available, that fees at secondary school level had been abolished. The students received pocket money from the state and that "all this was an improvement over the education policy of previous regimes". Mentioned as belonging "to the other side," of educational policy were - was continuous lying about Marxism-Leninism in history, in biology, in theology and in almost all fields." This took up much of the students' time and it was

especially on the part of those who weren't too bright and could not afford to expend their energies on this.

Respondent says that those courses which he himself took while the universities were in Communist hands - language courses - were excellent and not at all influenced by Communism. Altho there was much talk of Chinese and Moslem politics in his class room sessions, this was perfectly straight forward and not subjected to any non-academic discipline. However, he notes, these language courses included only very ~~sa~~<sup>small</sup> groups of students.

When asked about the criteria for admission to a university, respondent stated that persons of workers origin had especially good chances of admission. Persons of non-working class origin had a difficult time of it altho exceptions were frequently made for the children of high Party officials. The respondent states that it was very difficult to circumvent the class origin criteria for admission to a university. That, however, was occasionally done. Such circumvention when resorted to was accomplished in the following manner. In the admissions exams and procedures, each candidate had the opportunity to ~~quest~~ "score" 27 points, 15 were allotted to class origin, 6 to the candidate's secondary school record and 6 to the professor's own discretion. It was thru this 6 points allotted to the professors that candidates with "unfavorable" class origins occasionally obtained admission. Class origin criteria were employed with a special strictness until 1953. Imre Nagy relaxed the provisions here somewhat.

Speaking of students' opportunities for vocational choice, the respondent said that it was the secondary school teachers who had the responsibility for deciding whether a matriculating student was to receive more advanced education or not. In addition, the recommendation of the Party secretary with jurisdiction was influential. These decisions were made without consulting the students involved. There was not much improvement in vocational choice for students under Imre Nagy up to 1953 as the Premier ordered an over all restriction on the number of admissions to the universities and that this naturally limited the total number of people who could go on for advanced degrees.

Speaking of the quality of education, the respondent said that, by 1949, when the Communists took over the entire school system, the quality of education declined markedly as the result of emphasis on ideology. For instance, students of top calibre who failed in Marxism-Leninism never received their degrees - even in such fields as medicine.

The older professors were "all excellent" and tolerated in their positions by the regime because they were irreplaceable. The younger professors were "nourished by Communist financial subsidies, but after 1953-54, they began to realize the nature of Communism and wavered and supported Nagy." Among the younger professor, there were some outstanding ones, even some Marxists.

E. When asked whether the Communists in Hungary have really spent as much time indoctrinating the youth as they claim they have, respondent replied, "more".

When asked why Communists failed in the youth indoctrination programs, he said that parental influence counter-acted the regime programs. He states that Hungarian youth did not accept or reject Communist indoctrination more or less at one time than at another.

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS IN EVERY DAY LIFE

A. When asked what riled him most in his every day life, he said it was the absence of any opportunity to work in his own field. He said he was "not choosy", but he never had "a chance". When asked, apart from political issues, people were complaining about most in Hungary, what things most got on their nerves, he said, the people sounded off most about the poor living standard, about their inability to earn more money, about food and especially about housing. With respect to the last, many people would postpone their marriages until their parents died so that they could move into the parents' apartments when married.

## X. ECONOMIC LIFE

A. Respondent states that his and his parents main source of income was private translation work which the respondent states, he conducted under a false name.

He states that his and his family's diet was "good" because the family had a substantial store of silver and gold and foreign currency. Here, it is interesting to note, the respondent once again mentioned his family's carpets and furniture and he once again, showed me the same pictures of his apartment and his desk. This time, mentioning that the desk is worth from seven to eight thousand dollars. Respondent states that the silver, the gold the foreign currency and some of the "real Eastern" carpeting were sold piece meal in order to augment the family income.

His living quarters had been previously described.

When asked what he would consider a luxury, he said, a car. When asked what material commodity he missed most in Communist Hungary, he said it was the sufficient supply of and quality of clothing.

The respondent states that his and his family's living standard declined severely after 1948. In 1953-54 his family did "all right" as he was "one of the most successful translators in Hungary". Occasionally earning as much as \$1,000 a month. During this period, the respondent states that he and his family managed to save some money. He states that his and his family's living standard was the highest in 1954, the lowest in 1950-51. Also, he states, their living standard was extremely low in 1956. It should be noted here that in this discussion of material commodities and living standards, the respondent frequently said "constantly reiterated that he and his family "missed the spiritual things most".

When asked to discuss the living standard of a family which he considered well off in Communist Hungary, respondent mentioned several physicians' families--All whom he knew. All, he said, were better off after 1950 than previously. All had cars, the cars, he noted, were frequently 1925 models, "but they were still cars". These families, he also said, had excellent furniture, carpets, paintings, and much in the way of silver and gold ornaments in their apartments and houses. He states that these physicians' families had such high net incomes, usually because the doctors collected much in the way of illegal and thus tax free fees.

When asked what he feels accounts for the Hungarian standard of living during the past eight years, respondent replied that it was the state investment program - heavy-investme excessive investments in heavy industries and purchases of raw materials from abroad for steel production.

B. When asked about his income during the past year, respondent states that at the official rate of exchange, he earned \$500.00 during 1956 through free lance translation work. This was \$500.00 clear.

While- When he was working for official agencies as a translator and interpreter, the following items were deducted from his salary: 10% income tax, 20% 25% for administrative fees to the state translation agencies and 4% single (batchelor) tax.

Respondent received no special premiums for extra pay. When asked about extra or part time work, he states that almost all of his work was extra.

- C. Respondent's father had a pension of 500 forints monthly. Speaking of price differentials in the state, farm market, and commission stores, the respondent mentioned that a kilogram of potatoes cost 1 forint and 20 filler in a state store, and or and 1 forint and 40 filler in a commission store and after 1953, 1 forint and 60 filler in a private store. He commented that because of the higher quality in a private store's goods, it was frequently preferable to pay more than to deal with thieves. Respondent stated that both prices and price differentials between state, private and commission stores varied seasonally. He said this was so because of a tremendous shortage in warehouse space. He stated that prices varied and fluctuated considerably, occasionally reversing themselves several times in a two weeks period, as a result of the government's export program. (In order to augment export stocks, the government would raise prices sharply) Respondent states that price differentials between the various types of stores were highest in 1951.

Respondent states that the over all quality of retail goods was lowest in 1950. He states that the over all quality of retail goods was highest in 1955 and attributes this to Imre Nagy. Bread, meat, food stuffs in general, improved under and after Nagy. When asked about the distribution system of retail goods in Hungary, respondent stated, it was "chaotic". Frequently, it was impossible to buy potatoes because a shipment of bread had just arrived and, although potato may have been abundant, there was no room to store or sell potatoes. This type of condition

obtained with respect to all food stuffs.

Standard spare parts were impossible to obtain before 1953. For instance, while it was possible to buy a short wave radio, it was impossible to get new batteries for a radio without purchasing an entire new unit.

He states, there was much food spoilage, especially in the summer. Spoilage of cabbage went so far that the streets of Budapest reeked of decaying cabbage.

With respect to the black-market, there was much illegal buying and selling of almost all commodities. He says that the black-market was especially organized in foreign currency where dealings involving US dollars, Napolean gold coins and all gold and silver were extensive. Other black-market commodities were, in general, of a high quality.

Respondent states that the legal retail outlets occasionally indulged in black-market practices by over charging for their commodities.

He says it was dangerous to buy or sell on the black market. Penalties for black-market dealings did not vary according to the severity of the offense as the purchase involving \$1.00 was subject to a five year prison sentence as was the purchase involving \$500.00.

When asked whether he had any difficulties with the black-market himself, he replied, "As in everything I did, I had excellent contacts and an excellent situation here."



## XI. POLITICAL LIFE

A. When asked about his interests in politics and his political activity prior to 1948, he stated that he was very interested in politics, that he had been a member of the Small Holder Party, that he would be head of the Small Holder Foreign Affairs Commission, and that he had been advisor to Perenz, Nagy, and to Monsignor Bela Varga on foreign affairs. After 1948, the "real" small holder Party became defunct and his own formal participation in politics ceased.

The respondent has preferred the Small Holder Party because of its "democratic and free enterprise ideology". The Small Holder Party "is a middle of the road party, the only real middle of the road party of its time". He also stated that ~~the~~ he adhered to the Small Holder Party because of its opposition to Communism, to Communist imperialism and to National Socialism.

When asked about his parents' political leanings, he stated that his father had no party allegiance, but that his both his parents had political tendencies similar to his own and "I probably inherited their political outlook."

When asked about his attitude toward the Communist Party before 1948, he said that even at that time, he considered the CP a "fifth column". He states that the CP should never have been driven underground as "they were entitled to operate freely". When asked for further details on his early attitudes toward Communism, he said, "even as a small boy when I studied Marxist-Leninist ideology, I probably condemned them (the Communists)". He states that his attitudes toward Communism have not changed since 1948. This comment was followed by the following statements: "My first judgements are always my final judgements----- they never change and always prove to be good. Once the decision is made, I stick to it altho I don't make decisions hastily, the big ones take time."

respect to

B. When asked about his views with the various types of groups that joined the Communist Party, he mentioned the following: those who joined for "security from Fascism" (he did not mention Jews here), former CP members, former national socialists, opportunists and, finally, those who were forced into the CP by economic sanctions.

In discussing his contacts with CP Members, the respondent noted that one of his best friends belonged to the Party, that he had official, that is professional, interpreting and translating relations with many Communists and that he also met many in the course of his social life. He states that he frequently talked

Communist ideology which "I knew better than they did" with the Communists with whom he had contact. He states that he tried to "confuse" them citing much of the Marxist-Leninist canon and "rediculing it".

When asked about changes in CP policy during the past eight years, he said that the Party line was involved in "continuous contradictions - day after day, year after year". He mentions 195- describes the year 1953 as the "foreshadowing of the turning point" in CP policy. He attributes the continuous switching of CP policy to the Leninist dictum of "two steps forward, one step back". However, the Communists never take a "real step" back. They "just turn and pretend to step backward".

When asked about different political groupings in the Party, respondent states that there were no alignments according to political convictions or ideology, rather only according to personal interests.

Speaking of Nagy, he described him as pro-peasant and "as such, a potential capitalist with some Marxist flavoring". Until 1956, respondent continued, Nagy probably labored under commitments to Communism incurred during his youth. In October, however, Nagy broke with those commitments.

The respondent states that the ranks of the HWB were thoroughly demoralized and that this was especially so at the lower echelons. He said that most other Hungarians share his own picture of CP as moral. According to the respondent, his own impressions of Party moral are based on extensive personal discussions with Communists. "I was a Gallup pollster of my own".

Asked about his discussions with Communists, "I was asked about the personal motives of the Hungarian Party's top leaders, he replied "personal power". He states that he knew personally Gero, Rakosi, Farkas, and Vas. "Rakosi praised my interpretation work several times", he said. Asked to elaborate on the top leadership's aims, he states that the leaders do not believe in the CP's stated aims. "They have no real creed, but only want to hold us on to their power". He calls them "power hungry human beings".

Note: Differences of the motives of the rank and file members and those of the top leadership have been covered above in the descriptions of the various types of CP members.

He described several top Communists. Rakosi and Farkas, he said, were both sadists. Josef Revai, the Party's ideologist, was

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described as a paranoid. Vas, he said, has a Napoleonic complex. Gero is described as a psychopathic, a manic depressive.

The respondent states that these descriptions are based on numerous discussions over a period of months between himself and a number of physicians, including some neurologists. When pressed for details, on the physicians' diagnostic comments, he said that he could not recall the details.

C. When questioned about peaceful opposition to the regime, he stated that this most frequently occurred in "private discussions". When asked about industrial slow downs, "there were no general slow downs - just isolated cases". He said that no one social group is to be especially noted for opposition behavior - "All were democrats" was his comment.

When asked when there was the most opposition behavior, he said, 1955, at the time of Rakosi's return. When prodded somewhat by the interviewer, the respondent stated there was no opposition behavior in 1954 because "the people sensed the good in Nagy". After additional prodding, he acknowledged that there was heavy opposition behavior in the summer of 1956.

He states that he first heard of the Petofi circle in March, 1956. "I had my man there, but didn't go because my presence would have tied up the participants in the meetings with the underground". However, the respondent continued, "I read everything I could as it was important for me to keep my finger on the very center of the country".

He states that the first piece of criticism appearing directed against the regime and appearing in the public press he read, was a drama by Tibor Deri, called "Tomorrow, it will be clear". This piece was performed in the Hungarian army theatre in April 1954. It included open criticism of the Rakosi regime in that it described how the regime had mistreated the "intellectuals and the people". The respondent also mentioned public press criticism of the regime (mainly in the journals), in autumn, 1955.

Discussing the overall awareness of intellectual ferment in Hungary, he said, "everybody, from the lowest ranks up, succeeded and knew about the intellectual ferment and I was very proud of that because I realized that for the first time, the nation at large was following events with one heart and one mind."

In discussing the intellectuals' roles in the rebellion, he said that, "unfortunately, the intellectuals were unable to give new ideas as they were committed to the former (Rakosi) regime. They just expressed their critical orientation well."

Before 1953, intellectuals lagged behind the people, but after 1953, they were parallel with the people when not in advance of them. When asked about his own attitudes toward the intellectuals, he said that they were "poisoning the thought of the people and that they wrote for money. After 1953, however, they tried to clarify the situation and in 1956, the intellectuals tried to sever all their ties with the past - their support of Rakosi."

The respondent concluded: "The intellectuals stood up against the regime in 1956 because they suddenly realized that they were despised by the people. Thus, it was the people who taught the intellectuals that the latter had been lying."

It is interesting to note here that the respondent's analysis of the intellectuals' roles in the rebellion conforms with the analysis presented by Gyula Hay. In the interview, Hay granted to Mr. Bondi of the Paris publication, Preuves, during the past autumn, the essence of Hay's argument was that it was the students' and popular hostility to hack Party line teaching, that eventually forced the Hungarian academic community to reevaluate its role and to adopt an anti-regime position.

### XIII. ASSESSMENTS OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. After the interviewer had introduced this section, the respondent characteristically began to talk to the point - future prospects for Hungary by relating a personal experience - "I just received a letter from my sister in Hungary, which gives some indication of political feeling in Hungary and of the country's feeling for the immigration." He went on now irrelevantly to tell of his own role in the rebellion and its aftermath: "After Nov. 4, one of our small holder leaders had been shaken by Western apathy for Hungary and he asked me to take into my own hands, encouragement for further Western action for Hungary."

The respondent commented here without any probing from the interviewer that neither he nor the Hungarian people want Titoism and he mentioned Milovan Djilas as the reason for his objection.

When asked about his expectations for Hungary, he said, "Freedom will be reestablished in Hungary" and that in the long run, a clash between the US and the Soviet Union is inevitable. Freedom will be restored in Hungary in less than five years - partly through revolution in Hungary and part partly through changes in the international situation." By a clash between the US and the Soviet Union, he did not mean a major world war, however, he refused to be pinned down on exactly what he did mean, commenting only, "a strong stand by the West would avert or delay a major world war."

Asked about the expectations of the Hungarian people at large, he replied that "the people in Hungary think freedom will be restored in less than five years".

He believes there will be more physical resistance in Hungary - probably in the next year. Kadar, he believes, will both offer concessions and tighten regime policies changing the line constantly.

Asked about his expectations with respect to American foreign policy for Eastern Europe, he replied that, "there will be some change in US policy, some return to a moral standard - guarantees will be honored."

Asked about his expectations with respect to Soviet policy for Eastern Europe, he replied that the Eisenhower doctrine for the middle East has forced Russia out of the Mediterranean area and encouraged Moscow to refocus on Eastern Europe by "Re-focussing" the respondent means the re-tightening of the Soviet grip on the satellites. He continued that the Soviets will be very hard

on the Gomulka. They will try to oust Gomulka from Poland

It was most difficult to pin down the respondent on his own wishes with respect to a clash between the Soviet Union and the US. However, he spoke quite freely about Hungarian feelings at large in this area: "Hungarians realize that a clash between the Soviet Union and the US is inevitable. Countless persons with whom I spoke considered it far better to die than to continue living in a concentration camp (satellite Hungary). This is the philosophy of a man with a death sentence hanging over his head.

When pressed for his own wishes with respect to a clash between the US and SU, he said, "It would be far better to do it now (have a war) than two to three years from now."

Asked for his opinion of using peaceful means to gain a settlement in Eastern Europe, he said that "peaceful means will never have any effect".

Asked whether he thought there might be internal changes in the Soviet Union that would have a liberalizing effect on the Soviet policy for Eastern Europe, he said that such changes would never be of sufficient magnitude to affect the Soviet's satellite policy as the Party leadership in Russia is much too strong.

B. Asked what he has been thinking of prospects for Hungary for the past eight or ten years, he once again related a personal incident. In 1949 or 1950, the respondent indicates he was asked to address a political gathering on the prospects for Communism in Hungary. He states that he did not want to speak to the group as his field was foreign affairs and he did not want to mix into the domestic politics. However, he says, the leaders of the group said to him "You speak so well, you have a duty to address us." He then gave a brief resume of his speech which appears to have been in the nature of a warning about Communism. He told the group that "Communism in Hungary would last as long as the Russians stay and this, of course, will in turn depend on America." The Russians will stay for a "long time"

Asked about the expectations of the people at large with respect to the durability of Communism during the past eight to ten years, the respondent said the people have been setting up dead lines constantly, "basing their expectations on Dulles saying this and Eisenhower saying that. The people have been getting more and more depressed during past years."

His own expectations never changed.

XIV.

A. Asked about the political system and the economy/ he would like in an independent Hungary, he said first "a middle of the road democracy".

Asked to elaborate, he said "it depends on the people to decide what political and economic system they want." He then indicated that he thought the people would want some socialism retained in Hungary, so long as there was ample opportunity for private enterprise. "For a prosperous country, private enterprise is necessary" ~~with~~ with some control retained by the Government.

B. When asked to elaborate on the type of economic system he would like to see in an independent Hungary, he said, "During the past year, we have worked out a detailed program to solve Hungary's economic problems." When asked about heavy industry in Hungary, he said, "How? We have no resources."

He stated that the following light industries were included in his plan for the ideal Hungarian economy: Electrical appliances, agricultural processing, motor bus production, canning, electronics, truck production, production of railroad cars,

Respondent stated that, "Of course, Hungary should continue to produce wheat, but only for home consumption. For export, Hungary should produce only those commodities with which she can compete favorably abroad - for instance, fruits and vegetables." Respondent stated that he had previously worked out a plan ~~by which~~ for flying fruits and vegetables to the Scandinavian countries.

He states that land reform cannot be halted now, but that compensation should be made to the former land owner. He stated that he has also worked out a plan for compensating former land owners.

When asked about the kind of agricultural system he would like to see in Hungary when independent, he said that this was up to the peasants. "I've seen cooperatives in Denmark. But they're completely run by the members. In 1946 - 47, I planned a visit for specialists to go to Denmark to investigate the Danish cooperatives, however, this tour was never completed because of the Communists' regime."

Respondent stated several times that private farm management by no means rules out cooperative farming.

The respondent feels that the government should play a large research role in agricultural since small land holders do not have the means to finance scientific research.

He states that a maximum limitation on the amount of land any one person may own "may be" desirable. However, he refused to cite any specific figure.

He states that he would definitely prefer a government that guarantees the personal freedoms, but not a decent standard of living. Economic guarantees, he points out, can be withdrawn much more readily than personal freedom guarantees.

He states that he would not outlaw the Communist Party in an independent Hungary.

C. Asked about the ideal international position he would want an independent Hungary to hold, he stated that "it's impossible to be neutral in any sense". Subsequently, however, he stated that whether or not an independent Hungary should hold a neutral position should be decided by the people in a plebiscite.

He replied "Normal relations", When asked about the relations Hungary should have with the following countries: USSR, Eastern Europe, Western Europe and the US. When asked about military alliances with one or more of these areas, he said that "alliances haven't yet saved anything - look at Poland in 1939." He further stated, "A military alliance with the West would be out of the question for an independent Hungary as this would involve alliances with Poland, Czechoslovakia and with Yugoslavia - all of whom stand between land-locked Hungary and the Baltic to the North, the Adriatic to the south. Anyway, it would be very hard to convince the Hungarian people of the merits of an American alliance."

Respondent feels that Danubian Federation is not possible because of the antagonisms between the various East European peoples. For instance, he points out, the Hungarians today are telling the Poles that they are the anti-Communists leaders in Europe and that they have left "all those dirty Czechs and Rumanians and Bulgarians behind." The respondent pointed out with a great deal of emphasis that this does not mean that the Hungarians are anti-Czech, etc.



He states that he would like very much to see relations improve between the Eastern European peoples and he feels that one way of implementing better inter-national feelings in the area would be to run extensive student exchange programs in it. He states that he once worked out a detailed plan for such an exchange program.

He states that he is for all boundary changes which would eliminate friction between Hungary and its neighbors - that he would draw up such boundaries along ethnic lines. He refused to be specific here, however, he acknowledged that such boundaries would involve substantial territorial expansion for Hungary. He was did not attach any more importance to this issue than he did to any of the other political issues previously raised in the interview.

XV. FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. Asked about Khrushchev's "secret speech" to the 20th Party Congress, respondent replied, "I had the text of the speech in my hand one day after its delivery in February. As I told you previously, I had a long arm." Asked for his opinion of the speech, he said "one of the murderers accused another one of the murderers. He wanted to wash his hands, to open a clean page."

Asked about Senator Joseph R. Mc Carthy, he said "I heard about McCarthy, about his anti-Communist purge hearings and about the Zwicker case. I considered him and his activities a natural extremist reaction to Communism. Since the Communists have exploited McCarthyism in propaganda, McCarthyism has probably hurt the Communist-cause anti-Communist cause more than it has helped it." The respondent refused to commit himself as to whether he would vote for or against Senator McCarthy if he were a Wisconsin resident. "Judging him only on the basis of his anti-Communist record, I would probably be neutral."

Asked what he knew of General Peron, the former ruler of Argentina, respondent replied "I knew too much. I played tennis regularly with the Argentine legation. I approved of his fall. He wanted to be God and he wanted to make Evita a goddess. This disgusted me."

B. Respondent states that he read regularly, the following foreign publications: European edition of the New York Herald Tribune, the Reader's Digest in three languages, the European edition of the New York Times, all British newspapers, all Hungarian exile newspapers and publications and "anything I wanted". He states that he procured all of this material from the various legations in Budapest.

He states that he read all of the Hungarian domestic press as "I had to evaluate the newspaper". He states that it was not so difficult to read all of the Hungarian press since Hungarian newspapers are much thinner than American papers.

When asked what, if any, material he tended to trust more than some other in the Hungarian press, he stated that he distrusted it all. He said he had friends in the statistics office who told him that all figures in the regime press

were falsified.

He states that he also read For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy before this publication became extinct, the and the Russian New Times. He further states that he had nothing material available from Jugoslavia.

He states that his parents and his sister read much of what he himself read and that he lent out all of his publications to his friends.

When asked about any security procedures, that he may have observed with respect to his foreign literature, respondent stated that he left all of his material lying around the apartment in the open - even during parties. In this connection, he noted he also listened to foreign radio stations with the windows open.

When asked about the danger in reading foreign literature, respondent said that before 1953, people caught with Western publications were accused of spreading false propaganda and that they were frequently jailed on this score. However, he said, as there was no specific legislation against reading foreign literature, no legal conviction was possible.

Respondent states that he got much additional information on foreign affairs thru his social contacts (e.g. playing tennis with the various legation officers), drinking with them, etc. ). He states that he got "much good information" as a former diplomat. "I never asked these people to tell me anything." "They always told me on their own and that fact was very important for trust."

XVI.

Note: Part A in this section has been omitted

B. Asked about the relative popularity of the various East European nations in Hungary, the respondent said that all were equally popular until after the Poznan riots at which time, the Poles became especially well liked. However, he said, "I do not want to make any distinctions between the nationalities."

Asked what would happen in the countries of Eastern Europe apart from Poland if free elections were held, the respondent pointed out that "Communism had the biggest base in Czechoslovakia, but in all the others, it would be completely routed." He also said that Communism would probably be defeated in Czechoslovakia as well. "But, remember, in 1945's free elections the Communists emerged as one of the largest parties."

Asked about the comparative living standards in the various nations of Eastern Europe, he said that so far as household goods are concerned, the Czechs were probably the best off, but that in agricultural, Hungary was first. Bulgaria probably has the lowest living standard of any country in Eastern Europe.

C. Asked about Polish developments since the autumn of 1956 he said, "Gomulkaism is anti-Pan Slavism. Gomulkaism is a synthesis of national feelings for the independents of Poland."

He also said "Gomulkaism is self-annihilating." He stated that within two months time, Gomilka's position in Poland will be severely damaged if not entirely ruined.

Asked about the influence of Polish developments during October of 1956 in Hungary, he said that Poland was a factor, but not a decisive one. The Hungarians merely took into account the Soviet withdrawal from Poland.

He states that Polish developments prior to autumn of 1956 had no special effect in Hungary since Hungary was, as early as 1953, ahead of Poland in its open<sup>U</sup> opposition to Soviet control.

Asked about comparative freedom of speech in Poland from the fall of 1955 to the fall of 1956, he says that there was none such. He says there was no anti-Communist or other critical literature in Poland such as there was in Hungary

during the summer of 1956.

Asked whether he would prefer the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines, he said no. "There is no gradualism."

He states that he feels Hungary has gained because of the October revolution because it has exposed dramatically the means which the Soviets use to hold Eastern Europe in subjugation.

D. Asked whether he feels that Tito and Yugoslavia have been influential in Eastern Europe, he said no, it was Djilas, not Tito who has been influential. "National Communism is nonsense. Communism as such will never remain in power if the people is free to express its will. National Communism develops a terror system which uses nationalism as a cover." He added that Tito has never had great influence in Hungary. "Tito looks and acts like Goering - he doesn't care about the sources of his power, thus he conducts active relations with both the US and the Soviet Union and yet he spits on them both at the same time, too."

When questioned about the "Titoists" in the satellites, respondent said that Slansky Rajk et al. were not Titoists - they were "just branded Titoists. There were no Titoists in Eastern Europe. Rajk had no real political ideology - he just wanted personal power. In order to oust a regime which he knew was supported by the Soviet Union, he pretended to stand for national Communism. Had he ever achieved full power, Rajk would have abandoned his national Communist position."

When asked the relative popularity of Tito in Yugoslavia, respondent said that even the Yugoslavs are not in favor of Tito as he uses the same harsh measures which are used in the Soviet Union and in the satellites. Respondent mentioned Milovan Djilas in this connection.

Asked about workers councils in Yugoslavia, respondent said that these are a "wonderful" idea in the abstract, but that they have not worked out in practice. He asserted that if a Yugoslav workers council functionary asserts himself excessively, he gets cut down. After all, he pointed out, Hungary Communist Hungary has had workers councils, too.

E. Asked why, in his opinion, the Communists gained control in China, respondent mentioned the following factors: the nepotism of so Sun Ya Tsen, the corruption of the Chiang Ki Chek regime, the inefficiency in the American Aid programs in China, the mistakes of General George Marshall, the failure of the US government to influence China, the double-crossing policy of the USSR and the yearning of the Chinese people for a change in government.

Asked about the relative independence of the Peiping regime, from Moscow, respondent said that Chinese-Soviet relations are "most strained"- partly because the Soviet leadership does not include a single "fighting Communist", but only administrative workers. The reverse, the respondent asserted is true in the Chinese regime which therefore feels it should hold the leading position in world Communism. The Chinese regime is also rather assertive because of China's large population.

Asked for his opinion of relations between England and India, respondent said these have been influenced by two factors: first, centuries of British rule and second, education of the Indians by the British - which education implemented the Indians' anti-British tendencies. The respondent feels that British-Indian relations will turn more and more cordial when a new Indian generation grows up, one which never lived under British rule, which has will have had no first hand experience with colonialism.

Asked for his opinion on the situation in the middle-East, respondent said that the American government failed, not the British and the French, but Washington should have protested the British action and Israeli invasions in Egypt - but only after Nasser had been ousted.

XIX. AUDIENCE REACTIONS TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Respondent states that he listened to the following foreign radio stations while in Hungary: all European stations (their home services), the BBC, and RE. His father listened to the VOA. RFE

Respondent states that all foreign stations were always jammed, but that a single wave length was usually kept free for the government monitoring. Respondent says that he told this to others and that he taught them a system of listening. Respondent states that he listened- had the radio turned on and tuned to foreign stations constantly while at home and that he always felt "his duty" to tell others what he had heard on the foreign radio. He states that he listened both while alone and while others were in his living room. Respondent also heard about the content of foreign broadcasts from his friends. Listening to foreign broadcasts was punishable in the same way as reading foreign literature was punishable.

Respondent said that he preferred the BBC for all types of programs because it was the most reliable and because all BBC programs were the best edited.

Respondent also states that BBC was the most accurate and that he formed this judgement on the basis of printed word sources. For instance, the foreign press which he read regularly.

Respondent says that RFE was better than the VOA because the RFE gave regular news broadcasts which were shorter and more comprehensive as round-ups than the VOA. However, he says, RFE editing was "not so good - it was hasty."

Respondent states that Western broadcasts were-places worked as a substitute for a Hungarian free press and that they did not cause the people to feel more hopeful than they would otherwise have felt.

Speaking of RFE, respondent had the following criticisms: first, in the theatrical features, the actors, he said, were frequently quite incompetent as professionals and that the pieces presented were, as a result, ineffective; second, a particular woman who read messages to Hungary was "unbearable" because of her voice; third, RFE news was not suffi--

ciently digested. Apparently the news programs were drawn up "too hastily". He suggests that all news programs should be checked more for reliability.

Respondent states that he did not hear any inciting material or promises of Western premises help over RFE. However, he says, he did hear Bela Varga make a "unfortunate" speech "branding Nagy a Communist and inciting the people to fight on." Asked whether he feels RFE should continue to broadcast into Hungary, he said "yes - more than now". Asked-whether

Asked which programs, in particular, he feels should be broadcast to Hungary, respondent says that all commentaries should be stopped and only "straight news" should be continued. Respondent said "it's up to the Iron curtain people to make up their own minds. You should also stop the Mary comment-aries. He's a wonderful writer, but he's completely out of touch."

B. Respondent states that he saw the initials NEM written on walls.

He also states that he had heard of the twelve demands from other people.

C. Respondent states that he has seen Free Europe leaflets; that he, on occasion, translated Czech leaflets which sometimes fell over Hungary. He states that he received Free Europe leaflets (also Hungarian leaflets) from his friends, but that he did not see the leaflets "too often".

Asked to discuss in detail, some of the FEC leaflets' contents, he stated that he could not "as it was mixed up with so many broadcasts that he had heard."

Respondent states that reading Free Europe leaflets involved the same risks that were involved in reading all foreign literature.

Asked for his opinion of Free Europe leaflets, respondent said that the content was always much too old - "two to three months behind".

Respondent states that he frequently passed Free Europe leaflets on to others and that the risk involved in reading the leaflets did not deter people from reading them, but rather attracted them to the leaflets.



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Respondent states that it was "almost impossible" for the leaflets to be influential since they were so old. Asked whether the leaflets had-any-~~re~~ played any role in the revolution, the respondent said "not at all".

Asked whether Free Europe Committee should continue to drop leaflets into Hungary, the respondent said "yes - they are a manifestation of life - but that life should be a little fresher."

Asked what kind of material he feels should be stressed in the leaflets, respondent said, short pieces and "headlines".

Respondent states that the goals of the various groups broadcasting and sending leaflets into Hungary was "to serve th their governments' purposes".

The VOA "wanted to tell the Hungarian people that the American government is not ~~all-involved~~ at all involved in the struggle for freedom in Hungary." RFE was intended as "a counter point to the VOA since RFE told Hungary that the US government stands for peaceful liberation of Eastern Europe."

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